

MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

CONTENTS

San Juan, Commodore
Walter A. Stevens

Some Life in Northwest Missouri
Wiley Bennett

Mancripts Ahead—Glenn Cook
George E. Thompson

The Missions of Mississippi and the State
E. M. Vickers

The Followers of Duffin
William C. Cook

Smith's Expedition to Mexico
John N. Edwards

Historical Notes and Comments

General Articles *Editorial* *Correspondence*

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CONTENTS

How Missouri Commemorated.....	3
WALTER B. STEVENS	
Pioneer Life in Southwest Missouri.....	42
WILEY BRITTON	
Missourians Abroad—Glenn Frank.....	86
GEORGE F. THOMSON	
The Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Debt.....	90
E. M. VIOLETTE	
The Followers of Duden.....	110
WILLIAM G. BEK	
Shelby's Expedition to Mexico.....	146
JOHN N. EDWARDS	
Historical Notes and Comments.....	158
Historical Articles in Missouri Newspapers.....	176



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HOW MISSOURI COMMEMORATED.

By Walter B. Stevens.

Woe to the people that lets its historic memories die; recreant to honor, gratitude, yea to its own life, it perishes with them.—*Rev. Dr. Truman Merrell Post, Washington University's first Professor of History, at the Dedication of the Blair Monument in Forest Park.*

Missouri has commemorated one hundred years of statehood. None of the twenty-three States preceding Missouri into the Union has more reason for satisfaction on the manner of Centennial observance.

The Committee of One Thousand, meeting in Kansas City, November 24, 1916, builded well. From that day to the concluding events of this centennial year of 1921, Missouri has recalled in varied and fitting forms the past. Five years have passed since the one thousand Missourians, representing widely and generally the communities of the State, came together to inspire each other and their fellow citizens with the purpose of taking stock of Missouri statehood. In that half of Missouri's closing decade of the first century but few weeks have gone by without some form of observance. Here it has been the centennial of a pioneer church or institution. There it has been the celebration of some basic element of the State's material life that has claimed. The progress of higher education in a hundred years has been traced. Successive steps of Missouri's Struggle for Statehood from 1817 to 1821 have been brought home to this generation in impressive manner. Editors, teachers, ministers, the legal fraternity, have given time to research, to writing and talking of Missouri history.

At Columbia, January 8, 1918, the centennial of the presentation of Missouri's petition to Congress for statehood and admission to the Union found assembled a distinguished company to participate in an all-day program. Missouri's century of progress in religion, in education, in business, in the several professions, was traced in a series of addresses of permanent interest and value. A pioneer dinner, true to the

traditions, by the light of candles, gave realistic setting to the memories. The songs of generations past were sung. It was an occasion to be remembered for a lifetime. Two years later, on the 25th of March, 1920, was commemorated at Columbia, in pageant and speech, the day one hundred years before when the news came from Washington that Congress had enacted the Missouri Compromise and when the first newspaper "extra" issued west of the Mississippi was on the streets of St. Louis. These timely celebrations at Missouri's educational center were under the auspices of the State Historical Society, the Columbia Commercial Club and the artistic organizations of the University of Missouri.

Missouri editors, meeting in Columbia for Journalism Week, made a pilgrimage to Old Franklin to honor the memory of Nathaniel Patton and the *Intelligencer* of 1819.

At Washington, in Southern California, in New York and other parts of the country, Missourians abroad kept the Centennial and sent back to the home State their remembrances.

Daughters of 1812, with all-day ceremonial and in the presence of the national officers of their organization, unveiled tablets in the Jefferson Memorial at St. Louis, paying tribute in bronze to the "Founders of Missouri."

Daughters of the American Revolution marked with enduring granite the points of interest along the great trail to Boone's Lick country and on to Independence and Westport, the outfitting points of the Santa Fe Trail. In 1921 they made a pilgrimage to St. Charles, the first state capital to honor in the form of tablet the memory of the important part that community has borne in the history of the State.

The Missouri Valley Historical Society at Kansas City kept impressively the Centennial of Steam Navigation of the Missouri river with banquet, songs, poems and reminiscences, which drew to the City Club a gathering representative to Kansas City's best citizenship.

And so Missouri's centennial period has gone by with the celebration of a succession of centennial days and events which recalled Missouri's travail for statehood and Missouri's

beginnings in state life. Interest has grown. Its fruition has been the formation of historical societies and local observances in many communities in the growth of the State Historical Society giving that organization the foremost rank in membership west of the Alleghanies. This virile interest in Missouri history, inspired by the centennial period, has prompted poetic tributes which would fill a large book, historical addresses which would require a series of volumes, and newspaper columns which are countless. Especially notable has been this growing space given in the past five years by the press to Missouri history. More than one hundred pages of the *Missouri Historical Review* have been filled with the condensed titles of these newspaper contributions.

Missouri history has come into its own place in the courses of study at the State's institutions of higher education. This has been true of those institutions where it will be of widest influence—the several State Teachers' Colleges. There are now textbooks of high standards on Missouri history adapted to grade schools, to high schools and to colleges. For theses on which to present claims to higher degrees graduate students are finding subjects in Missouri's past.

Many and varied were the observances by which Missouri commemorated and they were well distributed through the years which followed the meeting of the Committee of One Thousand at Kansas City in 1916. The climax of interest and participation was reached in the official commemoration at Sedalia. By the records of Secretary Bylander, 323,000 passed through the gates from August 8 to August 20, 1921. The thirteen days included the centennial of the date of President Monroe's proclamation, August 10, 1821: "The admission of the State of Missouri into this Union is declared complete."

Happily conceived and efficiently carried out were the plans for the official commemoration. On the recommendation of Governor Arthur M. Hyde, the General Assembly appropriated \$150,000. Under the act, the Missouri Centennial Commission was organized. Governor Hyde was elected president of the commission. Lieutenant-Governor

Hiram Lloyd was made vice-president of the commission and chairman of the executive committee, giving his entire time to the duties of the position. The membership of the commission included the state officers,—Attorney-General Jesse W. Barrett, State Auditor George E. Hackmann, State Treasurer L. D. Thompson, Secretary of State Charles U. Becker, Speaker S. F. O'Fallon, Senators R. F. Ralph, W. T. Robinson, W. M. Bowker, J. D. Hostetter, Representatives F. H. Hopkins, who was made secretary of the commission, W. R. Lay, Wilson Cramer, S. L. Highleyman, J. W. Head, Oak Hunter, Charles L. Ferguson, D. E. Killam, President of the State Board of Agriculture, A. T. Nelson and President of the State Fair Board, A. C. Dingle.

The appropriation of state funds was wisely applied to the increase of the premiums of the State Fair by fifty per cent; to the production of the Pageant of Missouri, a spectacle not equaled in magnitude or in splendor by any other state centennial; and to the assembling of an historical exhibit which proved to be one of the outstanding features in popularity of the Exposition. Day after day visitors by thousands flocked to the Education Building and thronged about these historical exhibits. Their interest was expressed in the lingering around the cases, in the comments, in the numberless questions. Strong and lasting impressions of Missouri's great past were carried away. Could it have been otherwise with such evidences?

The original commission issued to the first woman postmaster in the United States, a Missourian who served so well in that official position that she was continued in office under nine Presidents. That commission, issued in form before women were recognized, referred to this Missourian as "he."

The great iron kettle in which the Boones boiled down water from "the Lick" and made salt so necessary to render food palatable and healthy when meat was the Missouri pioneer's staff of life.

A table cloth for which the women of one Missouri family plowed the ground, sowed the seed, harvested the flax, carded, spun and wove the finished product.

Babies' dresses, daintily trimmed, which had served five generations, and which, in good state of preservation, were brought from careful wrappings to show how Missouri motherhood wrought a hundred years ago.

Grandfathers' clocks, "in running order," ivory fans, India shawls, lace caps, homemade cradles, colonial chairs, warming pans, muskets, snuff-boxes.

Farming tools made by hand on the pioneer farms, rough as to finish but of evident efficiency.

There were spinning-wheels, andirons, candlesticks, daguerrotypes, tapestry.

Quilts there were in number, variety and ingenuity of design to tax the judgment of the jury of award.

To Lieutenant-Governor Lloyd, as director, to Senator Robinson, as chairman of the historical exhibits committee, and to Professor C. H. McClure of the Warrensburg Teachers' College, as superintendent, was due the credit of this great collection of Missouri historical exhibits. Probably none of them realized what was to come when the invitation went forth to Missouri families to send in their treasured relics, none of which might be fewer than fifty years old. But the contributions overflowed allotted space until in cases, upon frames and walls, and over the aisles they occupied nearly one-half of the spacious Education Building. But what more educational to Missourians than these same hundreds of exhibits could have been displayed!

As the visitor entered the Education Building there came into full view the exhibit of the Missouri Historical Society, the organization formed at St. Louis more than half a century ago by Elihu Shepard, the pioneer schoolmaster; Thomas Allen, the pioneer railroad builder; Charles and Pierre Chouteau; Albert Todd, Thomas T. Gantt, Henry Shaw, Charles Gibson and other foremost men of the city who at that early date realized the importance of preserving Missouri history for coming generations. The exhibit was selected and arranged with impressive effect by Mrs. Nettie Harney Beauregard, archivist of the Society, from the thousands of historic pictures, manuscripts, and relics which fill the Jefferson

Memorial at St. Louis. Portraits of distinguished Missourians who have passed, from Benton to Mark Twain; drawings in black and white of the colonial buildings of St. Louis; prints and sketches of pioneer events, documents and manuscripts, medals and miniatures, maps and photographs—all relating to Missouri's history from the coming of Laclede and Chouteau down through the 150 years and more of development.

There were such odd articles as the combined oil and time-piece; as the oil burned down it showed the hour by the numerals on the container. The scales upon which the gold of returning Forty-niners was weighed at the Palmyra branch of the old State bank. A picture of the Judgement Tree under which Daniel Boone, syndic of the colonial government, dispensed common sense justice to pioneer Missourians. The pin-cushion and threadholder which Mrs. James Monroe, wife of the President, gave to Mrs. Samuel Hammond, wife of Missouri's territorial governor.

Original bills issued by the first banks, the Bank of Missouri and the Bank of St. Louis, which flourished and liquidated before statehood.

Posters of the early steamboats and of stage coaches and of political meetings. Black-bordered funeral notices according to the custom which preceded the daily newspaper.

Autograph letters of Benton, Linn and other Missourians of the days before the typewriter.

A reprint of the *Missouri Gazette*, the first Missouri newspaper, published in 1808, which changed its name to the Republican and became the *St. Louis Republic*. A memorandum told that the files of this newspaper published continuously 110 years, are preserved in the fireproof Jefferson Memorial.

St. Louis people are familiar with the wonderful historical collection housed in the Jefferson Memorial. Many thousands from out in the State gained their first realization of the magnitude and variety of the collection from this exhibit at Sedalia.

When the moving-picture operators roamed through the Centennial Exposition, seeking the most striking objects and scenes to portray for the information and interest of those who could not come to Sedalia, they halted at Professor McClure's Historical Department and put down cameras and tripods for a prolonged stay. The aisles were cleared, the cases were moved about, platforms were improvised, exhibits were rearranged with reference to light effects.

In the heart of the department was an exhibit, a live exhibit, the like of which the moving-picture men, as well as most of the Exposition visitors, had never before seen. Here were the card, the spinning-wheel and the great loom. Hour after hour and day after day they were in actual use, doing the service once familiar in the households of pioneer Missouri. The deft fingers of Mrs. Ann Denton and her assistant, Miss Mary Jane Gilbert, carded, spun and wove as if it was every-day occupation with them, while the films recorded the methods of textile industry in its infancy.

Lasting influence of the Historical Department, and it may be well said of the entire Centennial Exposition, found effective expression in the exhibit and effort of the State Historical Society under the immediate direction of Secretary Shoemaker's winning personality. The State Historical Society receives, binds and preserves in its fireproof building at Columbia nearly 484 newspapers, the leading dailies and weeklies, representing every county in the State and City of St. Louis. There are now in this collection 11,000 bound files, two of them over one hundred years old, and many of them seventy-five years old. Of the substantial and permanent manner in which this work is done, Mr. Shoemaker exhibited a number of sample files. From the most complete collection in existence of books by more than 7,000 Missouri writers, the secretary filled several cases by way of illustration of the widely varied character of Missouri authorship. From the 145,000 books and pamphlets were shown selections of the oldest and rarest. Nowhere else in Missouri, not even at Jefferson City, because of the capitol fires, is there a collection of state documents to compare with that of the

State Historical Society. One of the most recent works of the Society was shown in the two large, handsomely printed volumes of the history and proceedings of the last Constitutional Convention, that of 1875. But, perhaps, of farthest-reaching effect upon the Exposition visitor were the stacks of the most recent issues of the *Missouri Historical Review*, the quarterly magazine in which have been printed during this centennial year more than eight hundred pages of Missouri history. Copies of the *Review*, Secretary Shoemaker distributed with brief talks emphasizing the Society's official relation to the State and the fact that the Society's resources were at the service, without cost, of all Missourians.

In these sample copies of the *Review* was an especially valuable article by Dr. Jonas Viles and Professor Jesse Wrench of the University of Missouri, giving in detail what has been done recently and what can be done in the way of organization of local historical societies and the establishment of memorial museums. To most readers the information of widespread activity in the formation of historical societies in Missouri was a complete surprise. These two well-known teachers of history wisely and truthfully said:

"In every case the State Historical Society is ready and eager to assist in every way within its power, not only the problems of organization but even more the problem of what to do after the local society is fairly launched. The State Society hopes and expects to be the means of correlating and co-ordinating this local activity throughout the State, so that one county will know what others are doing, learn from their experiences and inform them of its successes."

The idea of state-wide and permanent interest in Missouri history was kept in view by Governor Hyde, Lieutenant-Governor Lloyd and the Centennial Commission. In his introduction to the Book of the Pageant and the Souvenir Program, Governor Hyde wrote:

"It is appropriate that each community in the commonwealth should hold a local celebration of its own, reviewing not only the State's history, but emphasizing the historic incidents, developments and achievements of the locality."

The Centennial Commission issued and spread broadcast throughout the State an attractive booklet of eighty pages on "How to Celebrate Missouri's Centennial, A Handbook of Suggestions." This opened with an illuminating and carefully detailed program for local celebrations prepared by Professor E. M. Violette who had the benefit of experience with the highly successful celebration at Kirksville. Throughout Professor Violette's article ran the thread of more than temporary amusement or enthusiasm in such celebrations.

Professor C. H. McClure, head of the department of history in the Teachers College at Warrensburg, told "How You Can Organize a Local Historical Society," a work in which Warrensburg had furnished a conspicuous example.

"How Schools Can Celebrate the Centennial" was from the pen of State Superintendent Sam A. Baker, presenting the importance of the study of State and local history by Missouri school children.

"How to Compile a County History" was illustrated in graphic detail by "A History of Boone County," prepared by the State Historical Society. This was a revelation of the richness of local history.

"How to Produce a Pageant" not only went into details of this now popular form of celebration but told of the successes at Kirksville and Columbia and suggested a long list of pageant subjects which might be taken from Missouri History.

And, finally, this Handbook gave Professor McClure's "One Hundred Interesting Facts About Missouri," a compilation worth while in every Missourian's library.

What shall be written of "The Pageant of Missouri" that those who did not see it may realize something about it! It must be tame and unsatisfactory. The great stage, with its peristyle and Ozark scenery; its setting of the confluence of the Mississippi and the Missouri. The stage of thousands of square feet, upon which hundreds of persons moved, upon which horses and oxen trod; in front of which marched and massed the entire National Guard of Missouri. The coming of the first steamboat, crude of design but realistic with

smoking chimney and boom from the announcing cannon. The departure of the first railroad train from the shore of Chouteau's Pond, with tooting and sparks. The battle scenes from the years of the Osages and their Indian enemies down through the attack of British upon St. Louis, the Mexican and Civil Wars, to the home coming of Pershing and the Missourians from overseas. The abdication of the throne by Mississippi, queen of the valley, to Missouri, queen of the whole West. The contest of North and South in Congress resulting in the Missouri Compromise.

No words were spoken as the pageant moved through the three periods,—“Discovery,” “Development,” “Achievement.” But there were cheers from the massed actors which swelled to mighty volume nightly from the 20,000 spectators as the thrilling events rapidly succeeded each other. At the climax of the second period a chorus of one hundred sang Lizzie Chambers Hull's “Missouri” to Noel Poepping's music.

When the professional pageant masters had elaborated their scenic and dramatic framework, Chairman Lloyd and the executive committee of the Commission called in several writers of Missouri history to advise as to the incidents of the fourteen episodes of the three grand periods. Thus was given to the Pageant its character and personality illustrative of Missouri history. In the fitting Book of the Pageant Floyd C. Shoemaker has given these vivid descriptions and significant explanations of the several episodes:

Episode One, of the “Discovery” period, is located on the Mississippi. The master of ceremonies, with four pages, enters escorting the Spirit of the Mississippi.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: The most important geographical factor in the early history of the Mississippi Valley was the great river itself, the Mississippi. This artery of travel and commerce, extending from middle Minnesota to the Gulf of Mexico, was the highway, and in fact the only open path available for the use of man in the days of discovery. With its tributaries, it spread like a gigantic piece of network from the Lakes to the Gulf, from the Alleghanies to the Rockies. The highways on land after decades of development never entirely displaced it until the coming of the railroads. It is, therefore, appropriate that the

Spirit of the Mississippi be the commanding character in this episode. The best and most interesting work on this river is by a native Missourian, Mark Twain's "Life on the Mississippi."

The Mississippi River was discovered by the white man in 1541. The famous Spanish explorer, DeSoto, first viewed it on April 25, 1541, at a place near the Chickasaw Bluffs, a few miles below Memphis. DeSoto crossed over with his followers into what is today Arkansas. He traveled northward and then westward thru the Ozark highlands and he may have set foot on Missouri soil. If so he was the first white man to visit our territory. DeSoto died in Arkansas in 1542 at a place called Guacoya, and tradition reports that his body was buried in the "Father of Waters."

Episode Two represents the same time and place and is a dramatic presentation symbolized by spirits and fairies and dancing.

Episode Three is of the year 1673 and the scene is in Missouri, on the banks of the Mississippi.

Twenty Osage Indian braves, eight squaws, eight papooses, and a chief portray Indian life in Missouri, erecting tepees and preparing a meal. A horn sounds in the forest and startles the Indian village. Some of the braves enter forest and return bearing a wounded Indian. A pow-wow takes place, and the medicine man appears. An Indian war dance is given. A sentinel gives alarm. Father Marquette and Joliet are seen in canoe. They make a sign of peace which the chief answers. The Indian braves return. Father Marquette and Joliet show alarm, and the chief reassures them. They smoke the pipe of peace and Father Marquette tells the "Sweet story of peace on earth, good-will to men." The Indians strike camp and the explorers depart in canoe.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: Altho the influence of the Indians in peace and war was felt in practically every American commonwealth during the days of discovery and pioneer settlement, few states were so fortunate in establishing amicable relations with them as was Missouri. This was due largely to the peculiar adaptitude of our early French settlers in dealing peaceably and justly with their aboriginal neighbors, and also because of the admirable handling of the Indians by Missouri's last territorial governor, William Clark, who later became the national government's Indian agent in the West. Another fact of importance is that Missouri, unlike many states, never had a large number of Indians, Indian tribes, or warlike chiefs of ability. It seems that the Osages were the distinctive Indians peculiar to and historically native to Missouri.

The Missouris, who gave their name to the river, were living here when Marquette and Joliet made their famous trip in 1673. They were never a strong tribe. As early as 1702 their number was estimated at only 200 families, and in 1805 they numbered only 300 souls. In 1829 they were found with the Oto, in Nebraska, and numbered only 80, and in 1885 there were only 40 individuals remaining. For a hundred years they have been absorbed by the Oto. Other Indian tribes that settled temporarily in Missouri came late, as the Sauks, Foxes and Delawares. These originated east of the Mississippi and settled in Missouri during the Spanish period (the latter half of the eighteenth century).

The Osages were the distinctive Indians of Missouri, and well might any state be proud of having produced such perfect physical specimens. The great artist, Catlin, who best judged the American Indians from coast to coast, states that the Osages were "the tallest race of men in North America, either of red or white skins." Few Osage braves were under six feet, many were six feet and six inches, and some were seven feet. They were well proportioned and good looking. In movement they were quick and graceful. In war and the chase they equaled any. Altho living close to the white man for decades they late retained their primitive customs and dress. The Osages shaved the head and decorated and painted it with great care. They cut and slit the ears and profusely ornamented them. One trait of character distinguishes them. Altho they had the Indians' love for whiskey, and altho in early times they satisfied this love, by 1840 they had become and were total abstainers, despite the enticements of the traders.

The Osages are mentioned on Marquette's map of 1673 as living on the Osage river, where they are also placed by all subsequent writers until their removal westward in the nineteenth century.

The name Osage is a French corruption by the early traders of the Indians' own name, Wazhazhe (variously spelled Wa-saw-see and Wos-sosh-e). Altho visits of traders were evidently quite common before 1719, the first official French visit appears to have been in that year by Du Tisne. They were divided into several tribes and villages, and had 750 warriors in 1804 besides 600 in the Arkansas band. Even as late as the '30s their total population was over 5,000. On November 10, 1808, by a treaty with the United States at Fort Clark, near Kansas City (Missouri), the Osage ceded all their lands east of a line running due south from Fort Clark to the Arkansas river. They later ceded their Missouri land lying west of this line.

It is fitting that, in the pageant, the Osage Indians should typify Indian life in Missouri. Dramatic license here pictures Father Marquette and Joliet meeting the Osage. It is not recorded that these two men ever came in contact with this tribe.

The famous expedition of Father Marquette and Joliet in 1673 is known to every student of American history. They were the first white men after DeSoto in 1541 to traverse the Mississippi for an extended distance. Other French explorers, notably Radisson and Groseilliers, may have seen and traveled the northern waters of the Mississippi in 1659-60 but they had not drifted southward for any distance. Marquette and Joliet entered the Mississippi at the mouth of the Wisconsin river. They floated down the "Father of Waters," made temporary camps from night to night, passed the mouth of the Missouri, and ended their journey at the mouth of the Arkansas river. They started on their return journey on July 17, 1673, and reached Green Bay, Wisconsin, at the end of September. Joliet went to Quebec, where the news of the discovery was received with great joy. In 1674 Father Marquette undertook to found a mission among the Illinois. He died on May 19, 1675.

The main object of the Marquette-Joliet exploration was to traverse the Mississippi River and determine into what waters it emptied. The object was not accomplished in person but the explorers learned definitely from the Indians as well as from the direction of the flow of the river that it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. They had hoped that it flowed into the Pacific Ocean, thus giving a waterway across the continent with only a short portage between the great Lakes and the Mississippi. The significance of this exploration of Marquette and Joliet lies in their breaking the path through the Mississippi Valley, and in their practically determining into what body of water the Mississippi River emptied. Marquette and Joliet were not the forerunners of either French missionaries or French traders in the Mississippi Valley, but the report of the work as circulated in Canada and France did much to stimulate French activities in the Valley. The inclusion of these two men in the pageant on Missouri history is warranted on the foregoing basis of facts, rather than on any presumed actual landing on Missouri soil by them or any actual meeting between them and the Osages.

Episode Four introduces LaSalle, 1682; the founding of St. Louis, 1764; the British Attack on St. Louis, 1780; Transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States, 1804. The scene is laid in St. Louis.

La Salle and twelve French soldiers arrive and raise the standard of France. Pierre Laclède Liguist, Auguste Chouteau, twenty trappers and hunters, women and children, erect the village of St. Louis. A hunter informs the excited people of the American Revolution and of the expected British attack on St. Louis. British and Indians fire on the stockade. General George Rogers Clark and American Revolutionary soldiers are seen in the distance, rushing to the aid of the French. The British and Indians withdraw. Then enter Captain Amos Stoddard, the American general and official representative of the United States, Governor DeLassus, the Spanish lieutenant-governor; Madame Rigauche, the French schoolmistress who rallied the settlers to the defense of St. Louis; John B. Trudeau, the schoolmaster poet of the attack on St. Louis; Captain Meriwether Lewis and Captain William Clark, leaders of the famous Lewis and Clark Expedition; Charles Gratiot, the French resident who called for three cheers in token of allegiance to the United States; Auguste, Pierre and Madame Chouteau, the "Mother of St. Louis;" J. B. C. Lucas, the personal representative of President Jefferson in St. Louis in 1804; and American troops. Captain Stoddard first takes possession of Upper Louisiana as agent for the French government and then for the American government. The Spanish flag is hauled down; the French flag rises. The Spirit of the Mississippi with attendant spirits ballet. Captain Stoddard replaces the French flag with the Stars and Stripes.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: In this episode are grouped four scenes representing four distinct historical events of importance and covering a period of one hundred and twenty-two years. The first relates to La Salle (1682), the second to the founding of St. Louis (1764), the third to the British and Indian attack on St. Louis (1780), and the fourth to the transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States (1804).

Robert Cavalier de La Salle ranks among the great empire builders of France. He had ability, courage, determination, and vision. The Mississippi Valley meant even more to him than a wilderness peopled by Indians who should be converted and who would be profitable trappers of furs for the white man. La Salle viewed this domain as a potential colonial empire for France. He was daring as an explorer, courageous as a trader, but he was great in his vision as an empire builder.

Born a native of France, on November 22, 1643, he died in what is today the State of Texas on March 20, 1687. Few men have so filled their course with activity as he did during his short life of forty-three years. He early went to Canada in 1666 to seek his fortune. From there during the following two decades he

headed one expedition after another into the wilds and waters lying to the west and southwest. He was among the first if not the first to view the Ohio and float upon its current. He traversed Lake Michigan from north to south. He viewed the Illinois and the St. Joseph rivers and conceived the scheme of colonizing the Illinois country with his fellow Canadian French. Here he built a fort. Disaster and bankruptcy followed his steps, mutiny and jealousy rose with each exploit, but nothing daunted his great soul. Lesser failures stimulated him to greater efforts.

He conceived the idea and proposed the plan to follow the Mississippi to its mouth. Traversing the Illinois River, he embarked on the Mississippi on February 6, 1682. He reached its mouth on April 9, 1682. There he planted a column bearing the arms of his country and in the name of his sovereign, Louis XIV, took possession of the Mississippi Valley in the name of France.

He returned to his native land, aroused the interest of his king, and sailed for America in command of a squadron. He planned to erect a fort and establish a French settlement on the Gulf of Mexico. Failing to find the mouth of the Mississippi, his expedition finally landed to the westward on the Texas coast. One of his vessels was wrecked, and a subordinate treacherously abandoned the colonists and returned with the fleet to France. For nearly three years every conceivable hardship was endured—sickness, starvation, destitution, isolation, Indian warfare, and finally treachery and even assassination of the great leader himself. A few, a mere handful, of the survivors reached civilization again.

La Salle's scheme was a failure, but his vision and his life lived. France became the mother of the Mississippi Valley. French settlers and traders first colonized the domain from the Lakes to the Gulf and from the Ohio at Pittsburg to the Missouri at Kansas City, and far beyond even these limits their traders, trappers and missionaries penetrated.

No record is there of La Salle having set foot on our soil, but Missouri as part of the great valley of the Mississippi was influenced historically by his achievements. His life is not the sole possession of any state of the Middle West, it belongs to all.

The century following the exploits of La Salle was marked decade by decade with the extension of French influence in the Mississippi Valley. The explorers and missionaries penetrated farther and farther. Others followed to check and consolidate what had been covered hastily. Forts were erected to protect the trapper, to awe the Indian, and to visualize the might and sovereignty of France. And finally came the settler. From Canada he colonized the Illinois country on the east of the Mississippi;

from France by way of the Gulf he founded the embryo cities of Lower Louisiana.

For nearly half a century the west side of the Mississippi was neglected for settlement. Traders and explorers traversed our Missouri land, and miners profitably dug our lead ore, but the headquarters and homes of all were in the Illinois country—in the settlements of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. In 1723 (1719) a French fort, Fort Orleans, was erected up the Missouri river, located somewhere near the present town of Malta Bend. It soon was abandoned or destroyed. A few years later, perhaps in 1735, as some reports have it, the first permanent settlement was made in Missouri. This was Ste. Genevieve, probably in origin a mining and salt-making settlement, later an agricultural village and trading post. Shrouded in historical twilight, almost darkness, is the founding of Ste. Genevieve, and even its first few decades of existence. ¶ Not so, however, is the record telling the story of Missouri's second permanent settlement, her capital for over half a century, and today her metropolis.

The annals of the founding of St. Louis, as behooves an event of such historical importance, are accurate, concise, complete, and filled with the romance of a romantic race. Fortunate is a people of city or state who have preserved and cherished the deeds of their ancestors, thereby honoring their forefathers, themselves and their children. The founders of St. Louis were such a race.

Living in New Orleans during the middle of the 18th century was a wealthy merchant by the name of Antoine Maxent. One of his friends and co-workers was a young man of ability, a native of France—Pierre Laclède Liguest. These two secured from the French officials of Louisiana in 1762 the valuable concession of exclusive trading privileges for eight years with the Indians on the Missouri. An expedition was fitted out under the leadership of Laclède and on August 3, 1763, began its slow progress up the Mississippi, reaching the Illinois country on November 3rd. With Laclède was Auguste Chouteau, a lad of thirteen years. After stopping at Ste. Genevieve, where it was found that the warehouses were inadequate for storing the supplies thru the approaching winter, and that it was too far from the mouth of the Missouri river, the expedition made its quarters in old Fort de Chartres on the Illinois side.

From here Laclède and his companion, Auguste Chouteau, crossed over the Mississippi and examined the west bank as far north as the Missouri river, looking for a suitable place to found a new trading post. A site was found a few miles south of the Missouri that seemed perfect for Laclède's purpose. It combined the facilities of an adequate and natural river port, a series of

gently sloping natural embankments, rich agricultural lands beyond, plenty of timber for buildings and fuel, and spring water. So nearly perfect was this spot that Laeclde visioned not only a trading post but a real settlement which would prosper greatly and eventually prove to be the chrysalis of a city. This was in December of 1763. Laeclde marked the trees and proposed a return with men to begin the building of the post as soon as the Mississippi was freed from ice. He turned to the lad Auguste Chouteau and said: "You will come here as soon as navigation opens, and will cause this place to be cleared, in order to form our settlement after the plan I shall give you."

It was on February 14, 1764, that the founders of St. Louis crossed over from Fort Chartres and landed at the new site. There were thirty men, and in the history of St. Louis they have been dubbed "The First Thirty." Auguste Chouteau directed the work. The following day, February 15, 1764, marked the founding of St. Louis. Laeclde arrived in April. "He named it St. Louis," wrote Auguste Chouteau, "in honor of Louis XV, whose subject he expected to remain a long time (he never imagined he was a subject of the king of Spain) and of the king's patron saint, Louis IX."

The new colony attracted settlers. Some came thru hope of profit, some thru confidence in Laeclde, and others who had learned that the Illinois country on the east had been ceded by France to England in 1763 crossed over to escape British rule and live again under the banner of France. It was soon learned, however, that France by secret treaty in 1762 had also ceded the Louisiana country on the west. This cession was to Spain. But to the French colonists, Spain was preferable to England and so the immigrants from Illinois continued to pour into St. Louis, which became the seat of the Spanish government for Upper Louisiana.

The settlements in Missouri now began to increase. The next three decades witnessed the founding of St. Charles (1768-69), New Madrid (1780), Cape Girardeau (1793), St. Ferdinand, and other villages. The French occupation of Missouri under Spanish rule, together with an influx of some Americans, induced by liberal land grants from the Spanish government, had begun in earnest. Every decade was to see Missouri's population mount higher and higher. The important beginning of this was the founding of St. Louis. That event presaged the future prosperity and position of Missouri.

As no excellence is attained without engaging effort, so is there frequently ever no promise of survival without serious strife. Hardly had a decade passed after the founding of St. Louis and

the erection of its stockade when the news was brought that the American colonists on the Atlantic seaboard were in revolution against England. Three years later, in 1778, General George Rogers Clark with his Kentucky riflemen was planning his famous military expedition to strike at the British forts in what is today Illinois and Indiana. Was St. Louis in the west, in the Missouri country, under the Spanish rule to escape the conflict? A blow was to fall on the new post, but British minds, not American, were to direct it.

To strike at the French settlements in the Mississippi Valley from St. Louis to New Orleans was said to be the plan conceived by the British commander on the Lakes. Their Indian allies were to furnish the men, the British commanders the brains and leadership. St. Louis was the first to be attacked.

Unfortunately, tradition and rumor vie with history and fact in describing the circumstances surrounding this farthestmost western battle of the period of the American Revolution. Were the inhabitants warned? It seems that they had been but had not made adequate preparations. Was the Spanish commander DeLayba a coward and a traitor? Tradition at least so accuses him. Was the American army under General George Rogers Clark stationed at that time in the Illinois country opposite St. Louis, and if so, was it ready to come to the aid of the St. Louis French or did he or his emissary actually appear? These are interesting questions to which all answers are not unanimous. As regards Clark some evidence points to his presence in Kentucky at this time making preparations to resist the east wing of the proposed British attack on Kentucky.

The attack was made on May 26, 1780. If the attack had been on the day before, when the French colonists were observing the festival of Corpus Christi and many roaming the fields picking strawberries, the result might have been different. As it was, the shock was severe, the loss of life serious, and the result for the few defenders even behind stockade mounted with cannon was in doubt against such great numbers in the attack. Missouri's first schoolmaster and poet, John B. Trudeau, and the schoolmistress, Madame Rigauche, were there. The pageant presents these as encouraging their comrades. Trudeau has left a poem describing the attack, the first poem written on Missouri soil and the first on a Missouri subject. It is in the form of a dialogue between a messenger from St. Louis bearing news of the attack and the Spanish governor in New Orleans. The messenger tells of the cowardice of the Spanish lieutenant-governor at St. Louis.

The attack lasted one day. The French loss was heavy, estimates ranging between 20 and 68 killed, and 18 prisoners; the

British loss, or rather French-Canadian and Indian, was small. The Indians and French-Canadians withdrew from the attack and retreated northeastward. They also relinquished their plan of subduing the French settlements farther south. There is little question that if the Indians and Canadian French had persisted in the attack, St. Louis would probably have fallen. The defenders were few and their artificial means of defense limited. It is reported that some of the Canadian French leaders played false to the British cause and that this together with other factors brought dissension in the ranks of the Indians. The pageant depicts the American command under General George Rogers Clark as appearing in the distance in succor of the French. Clark was possibly in Kentucky, preparing to resist a British and Indian attack on that territory.

The significance of the failure of the attack on St. Louis in 1780 is at least three fold. Primarily, it saved St. Louis from the severities of capture, possibly destruction. It safeguarded the other Missouri settlements. Finally, it resulted in the abandonment of the British plan for the capture of the chain of French posts southward, the erection of British forts, and the substitution of British for Spanish rule in the Louisiana country. These results eliminate from consideration possible negative factors due to the counter-activities of General George Rogers Clark. If St. Louis had fallen, Clark might still have circumvented the British. The least that can be said at any rate is that the result of the failure of the British was directly positive from the standpoint of Missouri and indirectly favorable later from the standpoint of the United States.

The last quarter of a century of Spanish rule in Missouri, the twenty-four years following the attack of 1780, marked the beginning and growth of American immigration to what is now Missouri. Just as the French settlers in Illinois and even Indiana came to Missouri following the acquisition of the east Illinois country by England, so did the acquisition of these parts by the American government during and following the Revolutionary War result in many of both French and American settlers there crossing the Mississippi to Spanish soil. The American administration on the east side of the river had brought confusion, land speculation, taxes, and poor administration of the law. The Spanish authorities in upper Louisiana offered special land inducements. Even some of the settlers in older American territory, especially in Kentucky, made new homes here. Such was the extent of this American immigration that one Missouri settlement, Cape Girardeau, was entirely American and by 1804 over half the population of what is now Missouri was American. Our territory was well

prepared racially for the change in rule which came in 1804 as a result of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803.

The Louisiana Purchase will always rank among the most significant and fundamental acts of the United States. It transferred to our country a domain from which were later carved in whole or in part thirteen states, whose economic value alone is today almost infinitely greater than the purchase price of \$15,000,000 paid to France, and whose geographical and racial importance is beyond accurate estimate.

Prior to the Purchase, Spain had ceded all Louisiana to France by the treaty San Ildefonso on October 1, 1800, but Spain remained in actual possession. The United States purchased it on April 30, 1803. The formal transfer and possession of Upper Louisiana did not take place until March 9, 1804. On that day the Spanish lieutenant governor at St. Louis, Governor Carlos DeHault DeLassus, surrendered title and possession to Captain Amos Stoddard, of the American Army, who first acted as a representative of France. After this ceremony had taken place, it is rumored that in deference to the number of French inhabitants, the French flag, which had replaced the Spanish flag, was allowed to remain unfurled for twenty-four hours. On the day following, March 10, 1804, the French flag was lowered, and the United States flag was raised, Captain Stoddard taking possession for the United States.

Many of the original settlers of St. Louis were still living. Among these were Auguste, Pierre, and Madame Chouteau—"The Mother of St. Louis." In the Pageant these persons appear in this scene. Charles Gratiot is also represented. Gratiot was the Frenchman who called for three cheers by the crowd in honor of the American occupation and in token of allegiance to the United States. The famous explorers, Captain Meriwether Lewis and General William Clark, were present, preparing to begin their remarkable expedition to the Pacific, 1804-1806. Both of these men later became Missouri's territorial governors, Clark serving until 1820, when Missouri elected her first state governor.

"Development," the Second Period of the Pageant, opens with the years 1817-1821, Missouri's Struggle for Statehood.

The Spirit of the Mississippi is on the throne with spirits grouped about her. At her feet are floral fairies. Below are groups of French, British and United States Revolutionary troops, and personages heretofore presented. Also present are David Barton, Missouri's first United States Senator; Alexander McNair, Missouri's first State Governor; Frederick Bates, Missouri's territorial secretary and later Missouri's second State Governor; Ed-

ward Bates, a leading lawyer, Missouri's first Attorney-General, her second Congressman, and the first cabinet official from west of the Mississippi River; and Joseph Charless, Missouri's first editor. Persons representing Missouri's counties enter. Missouri steps forward and is approached by twenty-three representatives of the twenty-three states which had been admitted. The representatives of the northern states and of the southern states in turn beseech Missouri to come to their side. Both show anger at her hesitation. Groups of citizens on either side are excitedly circulating statehood petitions for signatures to be sent to Congress. Thomas Hart Benton, Missouri's greatest statesman, is at Missouri's side. A messenger enters and hands a scroll to Benton. He reads it. It tells of Missouri's request for statehood having been granted. The excitement ceases. Benton conducts Missouri to the throne. The Spirit of the Mississippi vacates and Missouri is seated, thus proclaiming and assuming her sovereignty. The representatives of the Missouri counties march in pairs and are announced by the master of ceremonies. After 106 of them have appeared, they hesitate. General William Clark, "Red Head," then enters with Indian chiefs of the Sauks and Foxes. The treaty of 1836 is made and signed, and the Indian's final title to Missouri soil is relinquished. The treaty added what is known as the "Platte Purchase Country" to Missouri and her present boundaries were set. Representatives of the eight counties of the Platte Purchase now enter. The county representatives in couples bow to the audience and take their positions.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: This episode attempts to portray Missouri's struggle for statehood. It includes the years 1817 to 1821. Missouri's centennial celebration this year is in commemoration of her birth of statehood one hundred years ago. The episode is, therefore, one of the most significant in the pageant. A resume of events leading up to it is necessary.

Following the American occupation in 1804, Upper Louisiana was governed from St. Louis by Capt. Amos Stoddard, who exercised all military, civil and judicial powers. The population of Upper Louisiana at this time was slightly over 10,000, of which about 4,000 were French, 5,000 were Americans and 1,200 were slaves. Later in the year 1804, on October 1st, Upper Louisiana, or "the district of Louisiana" as it was now called, passed under the jurisdiction of the government of Indiana Territory. Missourians soon protested against this and relief was given by an act of Congress passed on March 3, 1805. This act changed the "District of Louisiana" to the "Territory of Louisiana," and provided for Missouri (including Arkansas) a separate territorial government of the lowest grade. All officers and judges were ap-

pointive. The legislature consisted of the Governor and the three territorial Judges.

During the following half decade the Territory of Louisiana (Missouri) made rapid strides. The first newspaper, *The Missouri Gazette*, was established in St. Louis in 1808. By 1810 the population had risen to 19,976, distributed in the five districts of Cape Girardeau, New Madrid, St. Charles, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. Missourians desired a higher form of government. They petitioned Congress, and on June 4, 1812, the "Territory of Louisiana" became the "Territory of Missouri." Changes were made in the government providing for a two-house legislature, one elected by the people.

The War of 1812 retarded growth, altho Missouri was fortunate even in her Indian conflicts compared to other states. The concluding of peace brought renewed American immigration to our soil. Especially Kentucky and Virginia, the Carolinas and Tennessee, even Illinois and Indiana and the Atlantic states to the east and northeast, sent their hardy sons and daughters by the thousands. Missouri's population of 19,976 in 1810 had risen to 40,000 in 1817. Recognition of Missouri's growing importance had been made by Congress in the law of April 29, 1816. This act made Missouri a Territory of the highest rank, the elective tenure being applied to both houses of the legislature. Together with the growth in population and in governmental rank, was the increase in settlement. The few settlements along the Mississippi spread to the northward along that river and to the northwestward along the Missouri. The Salt River country developed, and central Missouri in the rich Boone's Lick country assumed importance. St. Louis boasted of two newspapers—*The Gazette*, Charles' paper, and *The Enquirer*, Benton's sheet. Banks were established, churches and religious organizations were founded, trails but recently blazed became pioneer post roads, and towns sprang up almost overnight. Missourians now demanded statehood.

In 1817 popular petitions for statehood were circulated over the territory. These were presented in Congress by Missouri's Territorial Delegate, John Scott, on January 8, 1818. The bitter struggle of Missouri for admission to the Union had begun—a struggle that did not end until two compromises had passed Congress, an entire nation had been rocked thru public opinion aroused for the first time on the slavery question, a territory had become a population of disgusted but determined inhabitants, and a President's proclamation had been issued.

From 1818 to 1821, the Missouri Question, as it was called, was the main issue before Congress and the Nation. Missouri has well been called "the stormy petrel of American politics." Whether

Missouri was to be admitted slave or free was a question involved with a greater one, the political disposition of the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase. Other territories became states. Indiana was admitted in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818 and Alabama in 1819. Missouri, with a total population in 1820 of 66,586 (10,222 slaves), equal to or larger than these states, was forced to wait.

Indignation in Missouri was at high pitch. Public meetings drafted petitions of protest against the injustice of Congress delaying action and attempting to impose slavery restrictions on Missouri. Grand juries and church organizations in Missouri did likewise. Finally, on March 6, 1820, the first Missouri compromise bill became a law, and Missouri was permitted to frame a state constitution and form a state government. The news reached Jackson (Missouri) on March 21st and was announced in St. Louis on the 25th with an extra edition of *The Enquirer*, Benton's paper—the first extra published in Missouri. Missouri was to become a state without restrictions. The entire territory celebrated. In St. Louis parades were held, the houses were lighted with candles in each window, and transparencies depicting a negro playing an Irish harp were carried thru the streets.

The people at once made preparations for electing delegates to a constitutional convention. After a five weeks' campaign, on May 1st, 2nd, 3rd, the election was held and 41 delegates were elected. These "Fathers of the State" met in St. Louis on June 12th. The place of meeting was the "Mansion House." "In a tavern, Missouri, the State, was born." Her first lawgivers and lawmakers in early years met in taverns. In fact, Missouri's capitols from 1820 to 1826 were all taverns. Her first constitutional convention met in the Mansion House Hotel; her first state legislature met in the Missouri Hotel in St. Louis, and when the capital was moved to St. Charles the legislature again met in a hotel. A history of Missouri's Capitols and Capitols has been written by a Missouri historian, Prof. Jonas Viles, and was printed in *The Missouri Historical Review*. Missourians will find it interesting reading.

On July 19, 1820, a state constitution was adopted, a state election was ordered and the state convention adjourned, its labors ended. The following month, on August 28th, state officials and Congressman John Scott were elected. The old territorial government had passed. Missouri had become a *de facto* state. On September 18th, the first State General Assembly met and organized. At 4 p. m. the two houses assembled in joint session for the official count of the votes for governor and lieutenant-governor. A committee of three from each house was then appointed to in-

form Alexander McNair and William H. Ashley of their election. At 11 a. m., on September 19th, Governor McNair and Lieutenant-Governor Ashley appeared before the joint session and in their presence took the oaths of office. At 4 o'clock of the same day Governor McNair delivered in person his first message. On October 2nd the legislature elected David Barton and Thomas H. Benton Missouri's United States Senators.

Truly had Missouri become a State, but Congress after months of debate and study did not officially recognize this fact and provide for Missouri's formal admission into the Union until a second Missouri Compromise was passed and approved on March 2, 1821. However, Missouri's congressmen and her two United States Senators drew their full pay as representatives of an American commonwealth, altho they did not sit in this Congress until the close of the session.

In pursuance to this act of March 2, 1821, and subsequent official action on the part of Missouri's General Assembly, President James Monroe issued on August 10, 1821, a proclamation which announced that "the admission of the said State of Missouri into this Union is declared to be complete." Missouri, after a year and twenty-one days of statehood *de facto*, had become a state *de jure* in the Union.

Episode Two presents the Boone's Lick Country in Central Missouri. The time is the pioneer days of Missouri.

Prairie schooners filled with trappers and pioneer settlers appear. The immigrant train is attacked by Indians. Among the defenders of the settlers are the famous Missouri scouts and trappers, Kit Carson, Jim Bridger, and Gen. William H. Ashley. Rushing to the relief of the party are twenty settlers from the village, under the leadership of the prominent Missouri pioneers, Daniel Boone, Capt. Sarshall Cooper, and Capt. James Callaway. The Indians are driven off and the immigrants join the settlers. One of the pioneers with a plow and oxen demonstrates the use of the steel plow. A messenger enters on horseback and tells the crowd of the coming of the steamboat.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: The story of the development of pioneer Missouri is a narrative of the white man's struggle with the primeval prairie and forest, the visible and unseen enemies lurking in wilderness and bottoms, and the ever receding but frequently hostile Indian. History and tradition say more of the latter, and the Indian engagement lends itself more easily to dramatizing, altho the chill and the fever, the cholera and plague, the absence of sanitation and medical facilities, and the depredations of varmints and wild animals, were the real enemies of the Missouri

pioneer. Combined with these were the most inadequate transportation facilities, except along the rivers. Pioneer life should be commemorated not because it was a Golden Age but because it was an Age of Heroism, filled with sacrifice by woman, man and child. Envy the pioneer not for his freedom to fish and hunt without warden's license, not for his wild turkey bought for "one bit" apiece, not for his wild honey obtained on felling a tree, nor for his cheap land at \$1.25 an acre, and his "mast" fed hogs and free grazed cattle, but rather envy the pioneer—the father and the mother of a large family—for his unconquerable spirit and courage to face his enemies and finally overcome the restrictions and handicaps, both mental and physical, imposed on him in his isolated environment. What special good fortune was there in abundance of wild game, if quinine, the principal remedy for chills, was hardly obtainable, and the doctor, frequently untrained, a score of miles or farther distant over almost impassable trails? The very cheapness of foods and grains, which was a blessing in the struggle for survival, was in turn a handicap in selling the surplus to obtain even the most essential conveniences or even necessities. Wild honey was there in abundance, but what profited it the Grand River settlers in north Missouri when after a hundred-mile wagon journey to Glasgow or St. Joseph they received two cents a pound? Hogs at one to two cents a pound were cheap and brought little to the settler, but he found the harness or hammer, brought long distances from the East, high in price. Churches were few and public schools did not appear until the latter '30s. Well may we apotheosize the pioneer for his courage and determination to "carry on."

From these conditions there naturally developed a race of daring men. Some of them will long be remembered, especially for their skill as Indian fighters and trappers. Kit Carson was one. Born in Kentucky, he was reared near that famed settlement in Central Missouri, the town of Franklin. His life was spent on the plains and in the mountains. As a scout few if any excelled or equaled him from the Missouri to the Pacific. Jim Bridger, a native of Virginia, was a similar character, hailing from St. Louis. He ranks as a scout and as an intrepid explorer. He is said to have been the first white man to tell of Great Salt Lake; he early traversed Yellowstone Park, altho it is reported that another Missourian, by the name of Coalter, was the discoverer; and he discovered the famous Bridger Pass in the Rockies. General William H. Ashley, another Virginian by birth and a Missourian by adoption, was also known from the Mississippi to the Pacific. Ashley, while famous as a plainsman, mountaineer, scout and trapper, was also noted for his ability as a business man and politician,

and for his culture and refinement as an educated gentleman. He served Missouri as her first lieutenant-governor and later as her congressman for one part term and two full terms. He lies buried today on his farm on Lamine River, Cooper county.

Daniel Boone is in history and story the most typical and the most famous representative of the western American pioneer. He united in his character the best traits of the hunter, scout and settler. Volumes have been written on his life, and each decade brings new ones into being. He will never cease to be an interesting subject for the biographer and historian. Boone was a native of Pennsylvania. He settled early in North Carolina. Being among the earliest white men to scout over Kentucky, he and his family became pioneers in that state. Before the end of the 18th century, thru loss of land and legalized injustice, he came to what is now Missouri and received liberal treatment from the Spanish lieutenant-governor. He became a local judge. He hunted over Missouri as he had over Kentucky. His sons carried forward his fine reputation. They served their state in legislature and camp, and one achieved prominence in the United States Army. Daniel Boone died in 1820, and Boone county was named in his honor.

Captain Sarshall Cooper was another figure in the annals of Central Missouri and Cooper county was named in his honor. He was shot and killed by an Indian at his home in Cooper's Fort in 1814. Capt. James Callaway, a grandson of Daniel Boone, after whom Callaway county was named, was also killed in 1815 by Indians, who ambushed him and his party on Callaway's return to the white settlement on Loutre Island. Dramatic license places all these prominent men in one scene.

Episode Three embraces the years 1817, 1846 and 1860, with scenes laid in St. Louis, Liberty and St. Joseph.

Amid cheers of the crowd, the steamboat "Zebulon M. Pike," the first to reach St. Louis in 1817, reached its destination. The passengers disembark, the negro hands laughing and cheering. Twelve negroes ascend the stage from the front and execute a dance, the spectators clapping hands and cheering. Col. Alexander W. Doniphan and his Missouri troops enter, ensemble, and march away from Liberty on their famous expedition to Santa Fe and old Mexico. A dispatch rider enters on a pony. A man leads on a fresh pony, the saddle and bags are exchanged. The crowd cheers as the pony express rider resumes his journey toward the West.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: Without change of scenery there are pictured in this episode three separate and distinct events of

historical importance in the annals of our state. These relate to the arrival in St. Louis of the first steamboat; second, to Missouri's remarkable record in the Mexican War; and third, to the Pony Express which was begun in 1860 with St. Joseph as its eastern terminus. The first and the last event really concerns the great question of transportation. Altho the second is another example of the saying of the late Judge John F. Philips that "*The Missourian is a fighting man*," it will be seen that even Missouri's participation in the Mexican War had some economic relationship with real economic events that had concerned our people.

Transportation is not a problem of modern origin. It has always been one of the most important questions and one of the most pressing for solution in all ages and among all peoples. In economic sequence it follows immediately after production even in the raw-material producing areas of the world, while in the highly industrialized countries such as are found in Europe and in America transportation is essential even for existence itself.

The greatest economic handicap of the Missouri pioneer and the greatest restriction on the development of our territory, was inadequate transportation facilities for both person and product. The Indian path, the blazed trail, and the pioneer post road were impassable at some seasons and were never entirely satisfactory. This is the reason why our early settlements in Missouri were along the rivers. The raft, barge, and the cordelle were used as well as the row-boat. Even these crude crafts were preferred to the wagon in the transportation of heavy loads of freight.

An event of importance, therefore, was the advent of the steamboat in western waters. The "Zebulon M. Pike," usually called the "Pike," was the first steamboat that landed at the St. Louis wharf. The day was August 2, 1817. The boat had made the trip from Louisville, Kentucky, in six weeks. Holiday rejoicings greeted the "Pike's" arrival. "The boat was driven with a low-pressure engine, with a walking-beam, and had but one smokestack. . . . In the encounter with a rapid current the crew reinforced steam with the impulse of their own strength. They used poles and running boards just as in the push-boat navigation of barges." The captain of the boat was Jacob Reed, and the boat was named in honor of General Zebulon M. Pike, the explorer, after whom, also, was named Pike's Peak, Colorado.

From the year of the arrival of the "Pike," steamboat navigation increased rapidly. Soon there were regular schedules. By 1819 the Missouri river was traversed as far as old Franklin, in Howard county. The steamboat to make the first trip was the "Independence," which reached its destination in May, 1819. The "Western Engineer" made the trip up the Missouri as far as the

Platte during the same year. The Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Missouri now became the great arteries of travel and freight transportation for the west. This not only developed the river towns in Missouri but greatly aided in the settlement of the State and in the welfare of its inhabitants.

Two years after the "Independence" arrived in old Franklin, the year 1821, there developed in the same town another transportation system that was to influence our history—The Santa Fe Trail. This was the beginning of a successful overland trade by wagons and pack animals with Santa Fe. Capt. William Becknell, of Franklin, in that year formed his trading company and in August the company left Arrow Rock with wagons loaded with goods for trade with the Mexicans. The expedition was highly successful and it was the beginning of Missouri's profitable trade with the Southwest which brought her not only silver money in the hundreds of thousands of dollars, thereby increasing her prosperity, but also jacks, jennets, and mules to lay the foundations of Missouri's rank in the mule industry. It also familiarized our young men with New Mexico, which in conjunction with our immigrants sent to found Texas, did much to prepare Missourians for hearty co-operation in the Mexican War.

On the outbreak of this struggle, Missourians began enlisting in 1846 from a number of central and western Missouri counties and as far east as St. Louis. These men assembled at Fort Leavenworth (the Pageant assembly scene is Liberty, the home of Doniphan) and became part of the "Army of the West." Col. Alexander W. Doniphan was chosen to command the volunteer mounted regiment consisting of 806 Missourians and 30 officers. The Platte county men were under Capt. William S. Murphy, and the Laclède Rangers of St. Louis were under Capt. Thomas B. Hudson. Of the 1,659 men in the "Army of the West," the Missourians were in such majority that it may be truly said that the expedition was a Missouri enterprise, and well has it been named "Doniphan's Expedition of One Thousand Missourians."

The story of the expedition is classic in history. The following account is from "Missouri's Hall of Fame" by Floyd C. Shoemaker: "It left its base at Fort Leavenworth in August, 1846, crossed the plains of Kansas and Colorado, and the mountains and deserts of New Mexico and northern old Mexico. Its path was contested by bands of Indians, large Mexican armies and by nature's weapons of heat and cold, hunger and thirst. It conquered two powerful tribes of Indians, won two battles against the Mexicans where the Missourians were outnumbered four to one, and subdued several hundred thousand hostile Mexicans. It captured many cities, three capitals, and four Mexican states.

"The route of the Expedition was from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe, New Mexico. From Santa Fe, the army went into the mountains and conquered some Indian tribes. The men had received no pay for their services since leaving home and their clothes were in bad condition. Their spirits were high, however, and they were full of fight.

"Leaving Santa Fe in December, 1846, they marched to the Rio Grande River. The cold wind and snow on the desert caused the men to suffer greatly. They had neither winter clothing nor tents. On part of the march they were without water for ninety miles.

"They reached the Brazito river, a small stream, on Christmas day and prepared to camp. Colonel Doniphan sought recreation over a game of cards. He was playing with his officers for a stake. The winner was to have a fine Mexican horse, which had been captured earlier in the day. But the game was not to be finished. A messenger stood before the Colonel:

" 'There is a big cloud of dust to the south, which must be Mexicans approaching,' he said.

" 'Then we must stop the game long enough to whip the Mexicans,' Colonel Doniphan said, rising. 'But remember, I have the biggest score, and we will play it out as soon as the battle is finished.'

"The troops under Colonel Doniphan were soon looking into the fire-spitting muzzles of the enemies' guns. The Missourians did not fire. They waited. It was the order of their commander.

"The fire of the Mexicans grew fiercer. The Missourians only waited the order to fire. At last it was given. The Mexicans had reached within one hundred and fifty yards of the Missourians when they were fired upon. The enemy was checked, the horses reared upon their haunches, and many of the Mexicans fled in a panic. The others were soon defeated by the keen aim of the Missourians. Over fifty Mexicans were killed and one hundred were wounded, while only seven Missourians were injured, none fatally. The victors obtained many spoils in horses, ammunition, cannon, and food. That Christmas night Doniphan's soldiers celebrated their victory, known in history as the battle of Brazito.

"From Brazito, Colonel Doniphan marched to El Paso, which he captured. From there he entered northern Mexico and won against four thousand Mexicans in the Battle of Sacramento. He then captured cities in northern Mexico. His troops, after an overland march of 3,000 miles, the longest in military annals, embarked on ship for New Orleans and came on to St. Louis. At

home they were received with dinners and speeches. Missouri was indeed proud of Colonel Doniphan and his One Thousand Missourians."

Famous as was Doniphan the soldier, he was also prominent as an orator, statesman, and citizen. He was one of the most widely known and most highly esteemed public men in Missouri. His tall commanding figure, his gentlemanly bearing, his remarkable flow of oratory, his wonderful ability as a lawyer, his reputation as a citizen of public spirit and tempered convictions, made him one of Missouri's most eminent and beloved sons. He died in Richmond and a monument was erected there in his honor by the State of Missouri.

April 3, 1860, may not mark an important event in American history, but to the newspaper reading public of the day and especially to the citizens of St. Joseph and San Francisco it was a red letter day. After months of planning and preparation there was to be inaugurated at both eastern and western terminals the famous Pony Express. The distance to be covered was nearly 2,000 miles; the time allowed was 10 days. Two hundred miles a day over plains, mountains, deserts and rivers; two hundred miles a day thru regions uninhabited by white man save at isolated posts but peopled by Indian tribes and hunters, many of which were hostile, and the fastest stage coach with armed guards could average only 125 miles in 24 hours! Truly the Pony Express was an American enterprise.

The announcement had been made beforehand, and a fast mail had been dispatched from New York by rail to St. Joseph. The Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad provided a special engine with a messenger to bring the mail to St. Joseph. A ferryboat was held in readiness to carry the pony and rider across the Missouri. Promptly at 4 p. m., in front of the United States Express office, the rider with the leathern mail pouch strapped to the saddle mounted and rode away. All St. Joseph was there to cheer the rider as he rode on the boat. The whistle sounded and the boat pushed off. The Pony Express was inaugurated from the eastern end. The moment the boat touched the Kansas side, the rider dashed ashore and up the bank. At San Francisco a similar scene took place, the boat going from that city to Sacramento. Promptly at 4 p. m., on April 13th the Pony Express arrived with the western mail at St. Joseph, and promptly at the same hour the eastern mail arrived in San Francisco. Henry Wallace was the first rider to start from the eastern end of the line, and Harry Roff the first from the California end.

At first the stations for changing horses were 25 miles apart. This was later shortened to 10 miles. The time for the entire

2,000 miles was also out to 8 days, 250 miles a day. When the service was at its best there were 190 stations, 200 station keepers, 80 riders, and between 400 and 500 horses. Two minutes was the maximum time allowed for changing horses. The average distance covered by a rider was 75 miles, but sickness or death frequently made necessary longer rides on the part of those on duty. William F. Cody, "Buffalo Bill," had a section 116 miles long, and on one occasion learning that the rider to succeed him had been killed by the Indians he made a continuous ride of 384 miles—the longest on record of the Pony Express. Another rider, "Pony Bob," made 370 miles thru a hostile Indian country in the mountain region. He was so exhausted that he had to be lifted from the saddle and was unable to walk for several days.

The Pony Express was the forerunner of the telegraph, which stretched across the continent in 1862, in the rapid transmission of letters. The mail was limited to 15 pounds, and letters cost \$5 each. Most of the mail consisted of business dispatches and news items from newspapers. The significance of the Pony Express lies not only in the remarkable quickness of dispatch of news, thereby facilitating business, but also in the fact that during the critical days preceding and at the opening of the Civil War, it enabled the National Government to keep in closer touch with the Pacific Coast and especially the State of California.

Episode Four is located at St. Louis and the time is July 4, 1851.

Mayor Luther M. Kennett and Mrs. Kennett of St. Louis, enter in a buggy. Thomas H. Benton is on the platform. Laborers with picks and shovels lay a line of rails in picture. Mayor Kennett with a spade throws the first dirt of the old Pacific Railroad, now the Missouri Pacific. A whistle sounds in the distance and a train appears in the picture. The citizens group and the ballet enters.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: The coming of the railroad to Missouri was the last and greatest economic factor in the development of our natural resources, in the settlement of our state, in the augmenting of our people's prosperity, in the diffusion of the comforts and culture of civilization. The pioneer trail and the country post road were advances but they furnished inadequate transportation; the steamboat marked a great step forward but its field of usefulness was restricted to navigable streams, during certain seasons, to cleared channels. The railroad alone met the inland transportation needs of man. Its coming was an economic revolution; its existence today is an economic necessity.

The Fourth of July, 1851, was a red-letter day in the history of St. Louis and it marks a significant event in the annals of the State. It was ground-breaking day for the first steam railroad out of St. Louis and west of the Mississippi. St. Louis capital, civic spirit, and even mechanical ingenuity, together with state and national aid, had combined to build the Pacific Railroad, today the Missouri Pacific. At sunrise a national salute was fired. Shortly after seven o'clock military and civic bodies assembled. Flags were flying everywhere. The long column marched to the edge of Chouteau's Pond where the exercises were to take place. State and city officials were there, the officers of the new railroad, judges, military companies, the fire department—all St. Louis and a part of Jefferson City. The band played the Grand Pacific Railroad March, composed for the occasion. Thomas Allen, Missouri's foremost railroad advocate and worker, and the president of the new company, made a speech prophetic of the railroad's future. Edward Bates, Missouri's great lawyer and esteemed statesman, was the orator of the day. J. M. Field, Missouri's writer and actor, recited verse for the occasion. Illness had prevented Governor Austin A. King from being present. To the mayor of St. Louis, Luther M. Kennett, fell the duty of throwing the first dirt.

President Allen presented the spade. Saying he would proceed to make the first cut in the line of the Pacific Railroad, the mayor, with the band playing the Governor's March, led the way to the edge of the pond and began to dig. As the first dirt was thrown the crowd cheered lustily.

One year and five months after this day, on December 1, 1852, the first locomotive whistle sounded at seven o'clock in the morning. The Pacific Railroad was ready to make the first run. The train went to the end of the track, a short distance beyond the Manchester avenue crossing. So was railroad operation begun on a main line in Missouri. A little later the formal opening of the first completed section was celebrated. The distance was five miles. On July 19, 1853, twelve passenger coaches carried 600 guests from St. Louis to Franklin, as it was then called, to celebrate the opening of the first division, thirty-nine miles long. From that time on the completion of each additional division was an event observed and heralded. Owing to financial difficulties, decreased traffic, and the War, progress was slow. It was not until 1865 that the line was completed to Kansas City.

Work on other main lines, which had been chartered, was also begun in the '50s. State bonds were issued and congressional land grants were made to aid construction. The principal early roads were the Hannibal and St. Joseph, the Pacific, the Southwest Branch (Frisco), the North Missouri (Wabash), and the St.

Louis and Iron Mountain. All the roads except the Hannibal and St. Joseph defaulted interest payments. Laws were passed in the '60s foreclosing the State's mortgage and in March, 1868, all were sold. The State's net loss was nearly \$25,000,000. Large as was this amount, it was really small in comparison to the benefits the State derived from the railroads. Towns were made overnight that are flourishing today, and hundreds of thousands of acres were opened to cultivation. Without state aid the coming of the railroad would have been delayed. Missouri could hardly have afforded to wait.

The pageant depicts Thomas H. Benton in this episode. This is not historically accurate but it is entirely fitting. Benton had long opposed either the state or nation extending aid for building railroads. At the national railroad convention in St. Louis in 1849, however, he reversed his former attitude. It was there in the old St. Louis courthouse that he delivered his most famous address in which he argued for a transcontinental line from the Atlantic to the Pacific passing thru St. Louis. It was during this address that, assuming his most impressive pose, throwing back his head and stretching out his right arm to indicate the course, he said in deep tones: "There is the East. There is India."

Episode Five, time, 1861-1865; the scene, Missouri. A body of Confederate troops.

A body of Confederate troops under Gen. Sterling Price and Gen. J. O. Shelby advance and open fire upon a village. Union troops under Gen. Nathaniel Lyon and Gen. Frank P. Blair emerge from village and a battle ensues. The Spirit of Missouri enters with four attendants and raises wand. The action ceases and the Confederate and Union troops group at front of the stage.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: The Civil War was the most disastrous struggle in both loss of men and property that Missouri has ever engaged in. The states that suffered most and longest in that war were the "Border States." First, their position, lying between the North and the South, secured for them the battlefield; second, their population, divided in sentiment, made possible the most cruel and prolonged kind of warfare; third, these states because of their strategic importance in wealth, population and position, became the "Bone of Contention" for both North and South. Missouri was a Border State, surrounded on one side by slave territory and on three sides by free territory. The struggle was bitterest here.

In area Missouri ranked ahead of all the states east of or bordering on the Mississippi except Minnesota, while among the slave states she was inferior to Texas alone in this respect. Still more

important was Missouri's position in population in 1860. In 1820 Missouri ranked 21st in population; in 1860 she had risen to 8th. Her 10,000 slaves of 1820 had increased to 115,000 and her white population from 56,000 to 1,063,000. Among the fifteen slave states, including Delaware, Missouri ranked first in her white population, and in her total population she was surpassed only by Virginia. But what was equally as important was her fighting population—the males between 18 and 45 years of age. In this respect Missouri easily led all her sister Southern states, having 232,781 white males between those ages, or more than Virginia—her nearest competitor—and Florida and Delaware combined. While Missouri ranked first in white population among the slave states, she held only eleventh place in the number of slaves. Of her total population of 1,182,012, only 9¼ per cent were slaves. On the other hand, of Missouri's native white population, which was 86½ per cent of the total whites, over one-half were native Missourians and over three-fourths were of Southern birth, i. e., born in a slave state, principally in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia. It is evident, therefore, from these brief statements that Missouri was a prize worth having, that her position gave her prominence, and that her population would be divided. Statistics also make this clear.

From 1861 to 1865 were fought on Missouri soil, 1,162 battles, engagements and skirmishes—11 per cent of the total combats of the Civil War and more than occurred in any state excepting Virginia and Tennessee. She knows the toll of war in men and money. From 1861 to 1865 of every eight men of the 109,000 she sent into the Union army, only seven returned—her proportionate loss in the Southern battalions was probably greater. But her memory of war has never made her fear war when it came. Failure has always met the militarist junker in Missouri in peaceful times—the State cannot be stampeded—but the brand of treason is stamped on the brow of the pacifist who preaches peace in Missouri when men's lives are needed to defend country and ideals. No state was more divided in sentiment on the great national issues than was Missouri in 1860. She ranked eleventh in her slave population. Still the records show that Missouri shared with New York first rank in furnishing the largest number of cavalry regiments in the Union cause (32); they show that Missouri took first rank in the number of infantry regiments (266), infantry battalions (40), and infantry companies (25); and that she also took first rank in the total number of military organizations in service (447). She ranked only eighth in population in 1860, but in the regular Union army alone she ranked seventh, had in service at her own expense tens of thousands of Union men

in her state and Enrolled Militia, and also maintained the large quota of nearly 40,000 men in the Southern field.

The narrative of the Civil War in Missouri fills volumes. Battles, engagements, skirmishes, banditry, guerrilla warfare, pillage, robbery, theft and murder made the state a seething scene of war. The battle of Wilson's Creek, Westport, Lexington, Rolla, Glasgow, Kirksville; and raids of Shelby and Price; the Palmyra and Centralia Massacres—these are some of the more widely known phases of the great struggle waged between the Union and Confederate forces, between Missourian and Missourian, between neighbor and neighbor, even between brother and brother. Truly Missouri drank the bitterest dregs of war.

Among the leaders of prominence here mentioned in the pageant, were the two Confederates, General Sterling Price and General J. O. Shelby, and the two Union commanders, General Nathaniel Lyon and General Frank P. Blair. The high character of these merits a word. General Price was one of Missouri's most beloved public men. A native of Virginia, he became a Missourian by adoption. He served Missouri in the Mexican War, and later became Governor of the State. On the outbreak of the Civil War he was placed in command of the State troops and from that time to the end of the war was the military leader of the Confederates in Missouri. General J. O. Shelby was a Kentuckian by birth. He was the greatest cavalry leader produced by the Confederacy in the West. His Missouri troops were famous for their fighting ability and their daring. After the war, Shelby and a considerable number of his men made their famed military expedition to old Mexico. They all later returned to Missouri and re-entered civil life, highly respected by both former friend and foe. General Frank P. Blair was also a Kentuckian, being a cousin of Shelby. He settled in St. Louis and his ability as a politician was soon recognized. Unlike Shelby, he espoused the cause of the Union. Perhaps more than any other man, excepting possibly Lyon, he was the greatest force in keeping Missouri in the Union. He served his nation on the platform and in the camp. He volunteered and rose to high military rank. After the war he advocated amnesty toward his former foe and showed the same undaunted courage in peace as he had in war. General Nathaniel Lyon was not in any sense a Missourian, but he played such an important part in Missouri, as the United States military leader of the Union forces, that his work is inseparably linked with the State. He knew what he wanted and was absolutely without fear in obtaining his objective. He ordered the attack on Camp Jackson in St. Louis and obtained control of the United States Arsenal. At every point he defeated the early moves of the State author-

ities and quickly followed up each advantage. He gave his foes no time to plan or execute. Finally at the battle of Wilson's Creek he lost his life. The work of Lyon and Blair was the greatest work done in Missouri in the cause of the Union.

The Third Period, "Achievement," deals with "Today in Missouri." The Spirit of Missouri is on the throne with the attendant representatives of the counties grouped in front. Coronation of the Pageant Queen takes place. The scenes are symbolic and dramatic during three episodes.

Spirits enter dancing. Then come fairies strewing flowers. Agricola and her ten attendants appear, representing the agricultural interests of Missouri. They dance to the throne and spread their offerings. Metalla and her ten attendants then enter, representing the mineral resources of the State. They spread their offerings before the throne. Scholastica and her attendants enter, representing the educational and cultural developments of Missouri. Industria and her ten works appear last, representing the commercial interests.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: This episode is a dramatic representation of Missouri's material and intellectual development during her century of statehood. Agriculture came first and is still first in the lives of our people. Mining has held high rank also. One of Missouri's earliest assets was her lead. This, together with her zine, barytes, coal, clay products, stone, marble and gravel, constitutes a very important source of wealth to the State. Schools are as necessary to a modern state as material resources. Missouri's development in the field of public school education came late, altho her advancement in private schools and colleges began early and was rapid. It is appropriate that industry, representing commerce and factories, should appear last. This is a natural economic transition. Missouri today is making rapid strides in the varied field of industry. Her cities reflect this development.

Episode Four brings Missouri to the World War.

Bulletins are displayed announcing the United States' declaration of war against Germany. Newsboys with extras appear. Firing of distant guns is heard. Provost Marshal Enoch H. Crowder enters. The crowd gathers around him. Crowder disappears in one direction and the young men march off in another.

General John J. Pershing enters with staff. Dispatches are coming and going. The sound of battle is heard. A company marches past in background. A crash of falling shell is heard. Darkness.

Soldiers, returning from war, march in followed by nurses. A crowd of citizens bearing wreaths assemble from sides. Generals Pershing and Crowder, Governor Gardner, state officials, citizens and soldiers gather around the statue of a soldier suddenly revealed in the background. Wreaths are placed at the foot of the statue.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: In this episode an attempt is made to depict Missouri's part in the World War. First is presented the call to arms; second, the conflict; and third, Missouri's commemoration and memorial.

Thru such native sons as Pershing and Crowder, Missouri early attracted the attention of the Nation in the World War. Thru her patriotic response in men and money, she upheld that prominence. And thru her present memorial measures and buildings she has expressed the gratitude of a grateful people.

Missouri made a record to be envied by any commonwealth during the great struggle. Her contributions to the Red Cross and voluntary organizations gave her high rank. Her purchases of Liberty Bonds were made without stint and were never below the quotas requested. Her farmers, merchants and manufacturers "carried on" without ceasing. Her Council of Defense and her Food Administration, under the direction of Dr. F. B. Mumford, ranked among the best and highest in the country. She sent 138,310 sons to defend her honor on the field of war and their record in the 35th, 42nd, and 89th divisions will live as long as history is read by our people.

It was in commemorative memorial honor of these 138,310 Missouri heroes and of their 10,000 comrades whose names appeared on the casualty lists, that the State of Missouri in 1919 passed public acts, which became the law of the land, by way of expressing gratitude. These acts related to soldiers' and sailors' employment, county and city memorial buildings and monuments, a memorial monument to be erected in France, and the publication of the records of Missouri units in the War.

The example set by the Missouri State Government has been followed by Missouri counties, cities and institutions. As an example of note, there is today being erected in Rockport, Missouri, a \$50,000 Memorial Building in honor of the soldier boys of Atchison county. The money was raised by popular subscription. Rockport has a population of only 1,150.

Episode Five brings the Pageant of Missouri to a fitting conclusion.

Enter National Guard, Gen. John J. Pershing, Gen. Enoch H. Crowder, Governor Arthur M. Hyde and Ex-Governor Fred-

erick D. Gardner. Then Confederate and Federal troops advance and halt in the rear, followed by pioneers, British, American and French troops, Indians, and all the principal characters of the Pageant. After an en masse movement, a large American flag descends. The returned troops from the World War enter, and the band plays the Star-Spangled Banner.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: This episode is the dramatic grand finale of the pageant. Missouri, the Center State, has passed her first century of statehood. Her progress has been beyond even the dreams of her founders. Truly Missouri has built well on the foundation laid by her forty-one "Fathers of the State." A "Hall of Fame" is hers by right of habitation.

Local commemoration of Missouri's achievements have taken on varied forms. Eighteen daily and fifty-six weekly newspapers of Missouri have published centennial editions of from sixteen to thirty-two pages. They gave not only historical articles on the State but many columns of county and community history. At Kansas City, spurred by pride in the latest chapter of Missouri history, the part taken in the World War, a canvass of ten days ended in subscriptions of \$2,500,000 by 100,000 subscribers for the erection of a memorial building to be located on a commanding site overlooking the new Union station. Alumni and students of the University of Missouri made the centennial year memorable by a movement to add to the group a stone structure to cost \$500,000.

St. Louis chose historic Veiled Prophet week for a series of celebrations unique but characteristic of a community which has won nation-wide fame for parade and spectacle. A pageant recalling Lafayette's visit, a Lafayette ball in costume, an all-day demonstration of the civic activities, an advertising and trade-mark parade with a mask trade-mark ball, a community sing led by a chorus of 1,200, centennial sermons on Sunday, a drama, "Missouri," telling the fascinating story of Missouri's Struggle for Statehood one hundred years ago,—these were some of the interesting features of St. Louis' ten days' celebration of the Centennial.

Concluding his book of the pageant at Sedalia, Mr. Shoemaker said:

"How great the contrast is between Missouri of 1821, with her 70,000 Missourians, and the Missouri of 1921, with her three and a half million souls! A commonwealth of cities and cultivated fields are ours; a few struggling towns and isolated farms were our forefathers'. A public school system with its university keystone is ours; a few private tutors and schools were theirs. A transportation system of railroads and autos are ours; cumbersome wagons were theirs. We have all the wealth known to man; they had little of worldly goods, no conveniences, and few comforts. We have machinery to perform our tasks; they had no substitute for labor. We have everything; they had little save their heroic, indomitable spirit. But, of all the heritage left us during this century of material development, the greatest is that spirit—the soul itself of the pioneer of 1821 and of the modern citizen of 1921. The same will-to-do is ours. The same God guides our destiny. As in their power was the building of your and our Missouri of today, so in our power is the erection of a progressive commonwealth for our posterity a century hence."

PIONEER LIFE IN SOUTHWEST MISSOURI.

By Wiley Britton.

FIRST ARTICLE.

INTRODUCTION.

The life of a people is more or less correlated with their physical environment. It has therefore seemed needful to give a brief introductory account of the physical environment of the Southwest Missouri people up to the great event of the Civil War, after which there were radical changes.

This region to one who was a part of it, did not impress him as particularly interesting until after middle life, when, on comparing it with other sections of the country whose physical aspects had been noted, it seemed to possess material of unusual interest.

Having spent so much of my life in traveling over this region, it has appeared to me that I have had special facilities for producing a work of this kind, facilities not likely possessed by any one else now living. In reflecting over the matter I have been impressed that it is a duty that I owe to those who are to come after us, as well as those who have passed away, that I should leave this record of the physical aspects of that region and of the social, religious and political life of the people.

This region, which we have called the "Border" in describing the great conflict that took place over it, has since become the heart and center of the Great Republic, not only geographically, but also in material resources and industrial activity.

CHAPTER I.

MINERAL WEALTH AND MINING.

The pioneers of the Ozark region of south and southwest Missouri did not fully realize that they were making their new homes in the midst of the richest lead and zinc section in the world. These minerals have been found in nearly all

counties of south and southwest Missouri, but the oldest and best-paying mines were developed in southwest Missouri, and at the beginning of the Civil War the mining industry in Newton and Jasper counties had become quite important. Large quantities of pig lead were hauled by teams to Osceola, on the Osage River, the nearest point from whence the lead could be shipped by steamboat to St. Louis.

In the early fifties the Cedar Creek mines, three miles west of us, the Granby mines six miles east of us, and the Center Creek mines fifteen miles north, were opened and attracted a few miners from Wisconsin and northern Illinois. From that time on up to the war, the mining industry gradually increased in interest and importance. When the war commenced, Granby had become a town of five or six thousand people; had several smelters, and was the center for the mining industry for all that section.

After the battle of Wilson Creek near Springfield in August, 1861, and the retirement of the Federal army to Rolla, the Confederate forces occupied Granby until they were driven out of Missouri in February, 1862, by General Curtis, and during their occupation operated the mines and smelters and furnished the lead for making the small arms ammunition for a large part of the Southern army.

There had been prospecting for lead all over that section prior to the war, but in most cases only small quantities of the ore were found; only the surface of the wealth below had been scratched. In the vicinity of a mining camp the surface of the country was dug up into holes, or shafts, of varying depths. In the course of a few years one might notice around every mining camp a great many abandoned shafts, that stood as silent monuments of discouragement and disappointed hopes of the miners.

The opening of the lead mines before the war in that section started new life for quite a radius around them, for the mining population had to be supported and supplied with the products of the farm and timbers and lumber for carry-

ing on mining operations, all of which tended to increase the transactions between the consuming and producing classes.

Nearly all the experienced miners in the early development of mining came there from mining sections; but it was not long until a good many men who lived there were employed in various ways in mining operations. It was an interesting sight to witness hundreds of men, scattered over an area of a mile or so, busily employed in all stages of the work of sinking shafts; some just beginning the work of digging and throwing out the dirt and gravel around their holes, while others were engaged in sinking deeper their shafts and using windlasses and tubs let down by ropes to take out the dirt and rock drawn to the surface and emptied by the men turning the crank of the windlass.

With the progress of the work and depth of the shaft, the dirt and rock thrown out around it increased in size. Later when elaborate machinery, operated by steam power, was introduced in mining, there were steam lifters to hoist the ore and rock out of the shaft, with mills to crush the ore out of the rock, and then by a process of running water, separate the ore from the rock, until piles of ground rock were sometimes thirty to forty feet high and covered more than an acre of ground.

From this small beginning of two-man power in mining, the mining industry has had a wonderful development in southwest Missouri, from which have sprung numerous cities, among them Joplin with a population of upwards of forty thousand, and with a market for zinc that fixes the price of the ore for the world.

In the early mining of that section, what was known to the miner as "jack," blackjack, a zinc blend, was thrown out of the shaft as waste; but since the war, with some slight treatment, it has become the basis of the zinc industry and the miners have prospected for it and mined it as eagerly as for lead. When the mining industry started up after the war, the heaps of jack or zinc blend that had been thrown out around the old shafts as waste were worked over and the zinc secured with good profit to the miners. With the devel-

opment of electrical power in every department of life, zinc has become an indispensable factor, so that we hear much more about the price of zinc in that section than about the price of lead.

Our pioneers were not the first miners in south and southwest Missouri, as we know from abundant evidence in several counties in the Ozark region, particularly in Polk and St. Clair counties. By whom these mines were operated, whether by Spaniards or by some of the native races of this country, and the ore they mined, has not been definitely determined as far as known to the writer; none of the tools they used in mining have been found and preserved.

Twelve miles east of Bolivar in Polk county, and two or three miles east of the Pomme de Terre River, there are many filled ancient shafts with heaps of dirt and rock around them, covering an area of several acres, but eroded by weathering and time. Inquiries made of old men who had lived near these old mines all their lives, said that they appeared ancient when they were boys, and that their fathers had never heard by tradition or otherwise, when or by whom they were worked.

These old mines extend from near Goodson in a north-west direction about forty miles into St. Clair county, but time and erosion have leveled the heaps of dirt and rock around the shafts to such extent that they are not always easily noticeable. As far as known in the neighborhood of the old mines, no systematic investigation of the old shafts, or of the dirt and rock thrown out around them, to determine the nature of the ore the miners were seeking, has been made by experts. There have been no lead mines opened nearer than ten to fifteen miles of the ancient mines since our pioneers settled in that section; nor have any deposits of lead or silver been found in the vicinity of them in digging wells or in making excavations.

A tradition has prevailed since the early settling of the country by the whites that the Indians and Spaniards had left concealed in one or more caves in Stone or Taney county, a large treasure of silver, which has caused several adventurous persons from time to time to search the caves of those

counties for the hidden treasure, but always without success.

While we knew that Missouri was a Spanish possession before selling it to France, we had not been impressed that a Spanish colony in this region had ever attained a population large enough to account for the working of these old mines; besides, no remnant of a Spanish population had survived when our pioneers first came into the country; nor are the names of the streams of Spanish origin, but of French.

About midway between Neosho and Seneca in Newton county, a rich bed of tripoli has been found and worked for many years, the fragments being crushed and ground up like emery for polishing metals, while the larger pieces are cut and shaped for making water filters of all sizes and shipped from Neosho to different parts of the country. It is asserted by those familiar with the working of this mineral, that no substance has been found that is as suitable and satisfactory for water filters, and the mining and manufacturing of it for this purpose, has become an important industry in that locality.

As there is no other deposit of tripoli in the State, and very few in this country, and as the demand for it must gradually increase, this will naturally increase the output of a mineral, which, when first discovered, was regarded with little interest and value, for no one then knew the uses for which it could be applied.

There had been but little more than a geological reconnaissance of the State before the war, and the pioneers had no ideas of the possibilities of the mineral wealth they had just commenced to develop and which was bound to be developed, as population increased.

Lead and zinc and tripoli were not the only mineral productions mined in that section; but bituminous coal was mined in small quantities up to the war for blacksmithing purposes, and has since become a great industry. We called this bituminous coal, used by the blacksmith, "stone coal," and it was probably first noticed in some of the western counties projecting from the banks of streams that had cut through strata of coal near the surface.

Jack or zinc was not the only by-product of early lead mining that was thrown out as waste and afterwards became of great economic value; but the great heaps of crushed rock from mills around the shafts, which were formerly waste, is now used for different purposes in the economic development of the country. It is extensively used for railway ballast and is frequently shipped several hundred miles from the Joplin district, and it is also shipped to distant points to mix with cement. This Joplin gravel, as this crushed rock is called, is used more extensively than the gravel from the gravel beds of streams in south and southwest Missouri, because it is more accessible to transportation.

Nearly all the creeks and rivers in that section have low banks, rarely exceeding ten feet in height, and on the opposite side of the bank of each stream the ground in many places slopes off gradually from the water's edge to the level of the bottom land. But in every stream there are places where the water flows between banks on each side for considerable distances, in each instance, however, ending in shallows where the water spreads without having any well-defined channel.

In all these gravel beds there are great quantities of gravel and rock which have been washed up during freshets. Besides the great quantities of gravel and rock on these shallows, there are also large amounts on the sloping sides of the stream opposite the bank.

There are many places on the Roubidoux and Piney rivers in Pulaski county, and on Sinking River and on Seven Points River in Shannon, Howell, and Oregon counties, where the water of these streams runs under the gravel beds for miles, coming out again as beautiful, clear, limpid streams.

This gravel is far superior to the crushed rock of the Joplin district and with the increasing interest in improving the public highways is bound to come into larger use, and to have a monetary value probably not dreamed of at present. The present difficulties of transportation and loading will be overcome, for tramways can be put down at small cost, con-

necting with nearest railway stations, and steam shovels can be used in scooping up the gravel.

With increasing population, lumber is getting scarcer and more costly, and as cement is coming into more extensive use, the gravel from these streams will probably be used with it in building dwellings for the people.

Water-worn gravel beds have been found on high ground distant from any stream, and this has in every instance given the highest satisfaction.

CHAPTER II.

SUBTERRANEAN RIVERS AND CAVES.

We believe that some features of the Ozark region of Missouri are unsurpassed in beauty and interest.

This region embraces nearly all that part of the State south of the Osage River, and south of the Missouri River below the mouth of the Osage, with the headwaters of the streams radiating from a watershed east and southeast of Springfield for a distance of perhaps seventy-five miles, and from an altitude of about fourteen hundred to nearly eighteen hundred feet. The prairie region may be said to commence at Springfield and extends to the western boundary; but east, south and north of the city, except some prairies in Polk and Hickory counties, had growing over it different varieties of trees, mainly black oak, white oak, post oak, blackjack, walnut, elm, and in the southern and southeastern parts, great pine forests until cut off by lumbermen.

In driving over this region from Springfield northeast to Rolla and southeast to West Plains, and beyond, one is impressed with the great number of sink-holes met with on the high table-lands, of all sizes and depths, generally bowl-shaped from erosion, and from fifty feet in diameter and a yard in depth, to several hundred yards in diameter and of unknown depth. A few of the sinkholes observed have level bottoms of an acre or so in area, with large trees growing on them, the tops of which were on a level with the surrounding terrene. Most of the sink-holes had drains at the bottom of



Stalagmite in River Cave, Hahatonka Park.
(Courtesy R. M. Snyder, Jr.)



the bowls that drained off the water flowing into them from the surrounding surface into underground streams.

On the level tableland that had no perceptible slope, the sink-holes were the mediums of carrying off the surface water of heavy rains. The area of the surface drained around gradually increased, in some cases showing a perceptible slope towards it. Heavy rains around a sink-hole would cause such a rapid flow of water into it as to fill it up and sometimes the outlet was not large enough to allow the water to escape as fast as it ran it, and then the hole filled and was called a pond and was useful for stock water.

In some cases springs developed in the basins and kept them filled with clear cold water. Such was the noted camping place, "Pond Springs," fifteen miles southwest of Springfield, known before the war to freighters and stock men.

One of the most noted sink-holes in the Ozark region is called the "Devil's Den," and is about twenty miles southeast of Springfield. It is a deep chasm with precipitous sides from the surface of the ground to the water's edge, as much as fifty feet below, and across the water is probably about one hundred yards. This miniature lake has an unknown depth, soundings having been made without finding bottom. Those who live near it believe that it is connected with an underground river, for they assert that cedar logs have been cast up from below, and that cedar is not known to grow within many miles of the place.

There is another chasm containing water, but not of such wild and rugged character, about twenty miles southeast of West Plains, that unquestionably connects with an underground river, for several years ago several beer kegs were thrown into it and came out at Mammoth Springs that flows out of the side of a hill in Arkansas near the State line, some forty miles southeast of West Plains, and is known as Spring River.

Roaring River in Barry county emerges from a bluff about ten miles southeast of Cassville, and continues its course into White River, but its underground course it not known to have been touched by any surface opening.

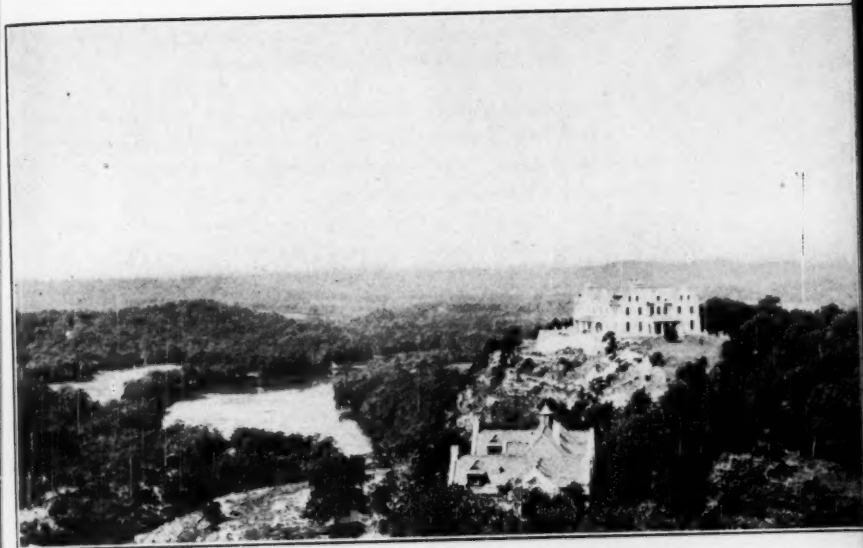
Hahatonka Spring in Camden county, one of the largest in the Ozark region, emerges from a precipitous bluff nearly two hundred feet in height above the water, and empties into the Niangua River about a mile below. The volume of water issuing from the bluff of the great spring would come up to the sides of a horse, say three feet, and was from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet wide in the stream to its junction with the Niangua River; but its flow or velocity coming out of the bluff was rather slow, probably three or four miles an hour; it was as clear as a crystal, showing that its flow was not as rapid as some other large springs.

There are other great springs of the Ozark region almost rivaling Hahatonka and the Mammoth Spring, Arkansas, and they are generally well down on the slopes of the Ozark uplift or mountain, showing that the elevated region is traversed with underground streams and rivers which have never been explored.

There has not been a sufficient number of borings in that section to give us much information about the underground streams; but several borings made by the railway company at Springfield and Monett for water for their engines and shops, struck streams of considerable volume at depths of a few hundred feet.

Another feature of this Ozark region is the numerous caves found in different parts of it, some of them of great interest on account of the beautiful stalactites hanging from their roofs, and the great stalacmitic formations of their floors.

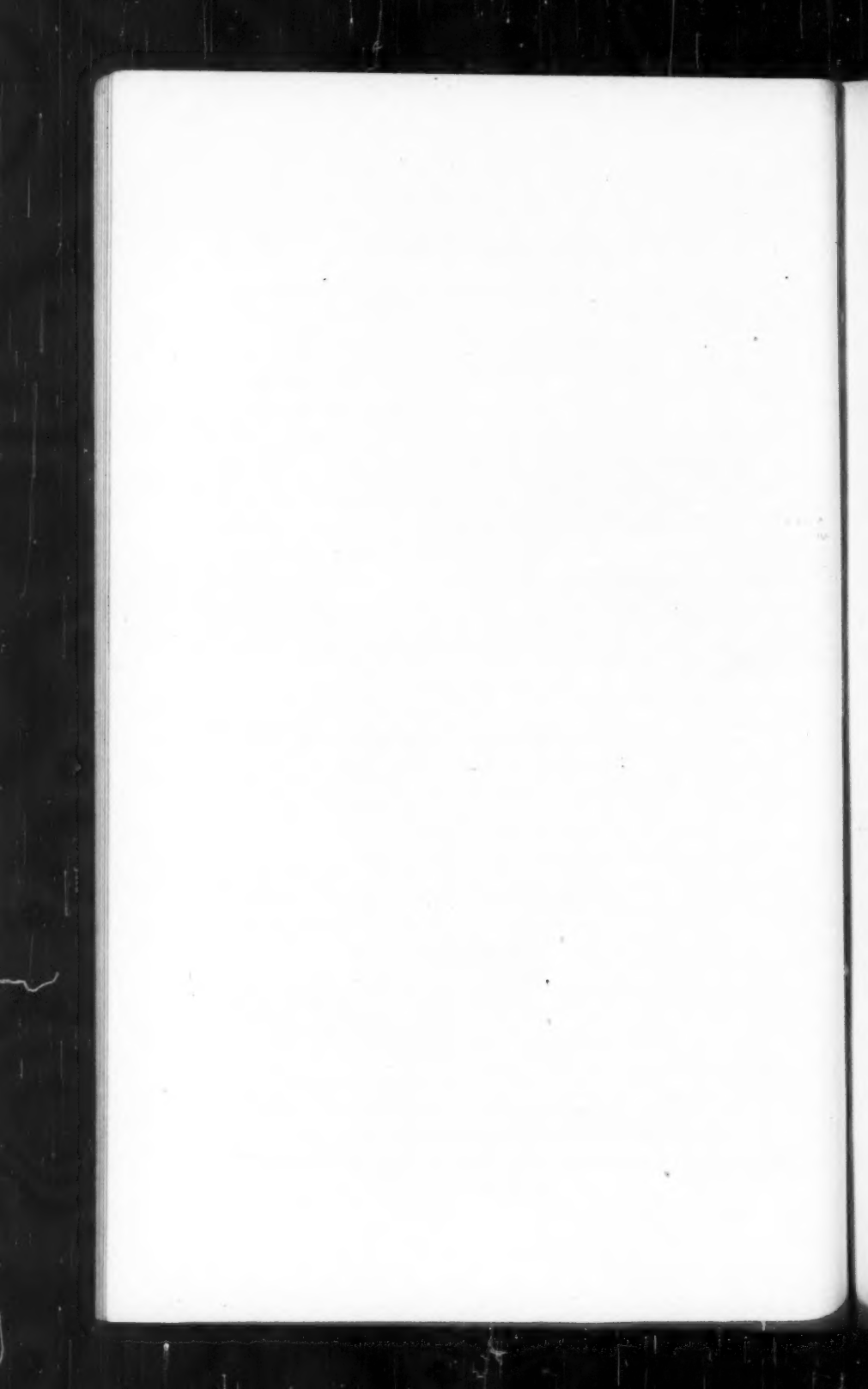
When we take into account the great length of some of the stalactites, measuring perhaps in some instances upwards of twenty feet, and the great thickness of the stalacmitic formations, of nearly as many feet, and the extreme slowness of their growth, we are impressed with the great length of time that has elapsed since the process commenced. In England and Continental Europe inscriptions found on stalactites and stalacmites, made nearly three hundred years ago, and over which stalactite and stalacmitic matter has been deposited



View of Castle and Grounds, Hahatonka Park.
(Courtesy R. M. Snyder, Jr.)



Map of Hahatonka Region.
(Courtesy R. M. Snyder, Jr.)



indicated that their growth has not been as much as an inch in a century.

While no systematic investigations have been made of the caves of this region, there have been some reconnoissances with interesting results, showing that some of the caves examined contained animal forms, some mummified, of species long since extinct.

One of the most interesting caves of this region is the Marvel Cave about forty miles south of Springfield, ten miles north of White River, near the Wilderness Road in Stone county. It is near the summit of the high tableland of the Ozark Mountain and the terrene immediately south of it slopes off rapidly into the steep hollow of Roark Creek, one or two miles distant.

It is a deep chasm in the ground and in some respects resembles the "Devil's Den" at the opening except that it has no water in sight. Its walls or sides are so precipitous that one cannot safely descend without a ladder or rope, and looking down into its dark depths gives it a dismal appearance.

Some years ago some newspaper men from St. Louis were let down and made quite an extensive exploration of this wonderful cave, and with photographic apparatus took a good many views of different parts of its interior, giving names to some of them, as the "Throne Room." In this reconnoissance or exploration made by the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, the newspaper men found in different parts of the cave, stalactites of indescribable beauty, the bones of animals of several species, and some mummified animals in a good state of preservation, but of species no longer existing in that section.

It is very likely that the caves of the Ozark region of Missouri, on account of its gentle uplift, will afford a more productive field of research in regard to pre-historic man in this country, than any other section.

We have in the arrow-heads, spear-heads and other implements and tools and pottery from pre-historic mounds from every section of the country, evidence of the kinds of lives led by the Indians, and perhaps of the pre-historic races

that were here before them; but we have no evidence as far as the writer knows, of cave inhabitants, such as cavern researches have shown in many parts of Europe.

It is generally supposed that the cave men and animals lived in a cold climate in pre-glacial times, and as we know that the ice sheet extended to the Ozark region, the severe cold as it advanced south must have forced men, if any existed, and the larger animals into the caves or to migrate south if it was practicable. Such superficial investigations as have been made in the caves of that region would not likely determine whether they had been inhabited by men and animals during the cold period of the glacial epoch; so that it will require much digging and the careful examination of the flora and fauna of many caves to give us information on that point.

This Ozark region is almost certain to furnish a rich field for cavern researches in the future, which will throw light on the early history of man on this continent. Some of these caves were unquestionably used by the Indians in the winter season, for near the entrance of them bowl-shaped mortars have been found cut into solid limestone and polished for braying or pounding certain foods until broken down for use.

Another cave, the Lincoln Cave, seven miles northwest of Springfield, is of such interest that it has been visited by many excursionists, for it is easily accessible; extends back under the hill probably a thousand yards; has many spacious apartments and niches, and in its remote depths a beautiful stream of clear water about ten feet deep flows through it.

CHAPTER III.

WATER POWER AND MILLS.

On all the perennial streams of south and southwest Missouri, there is almost inexhaustible water power, and water power mills for grinding corn meal, making flour and carding wool rolls were early in use by the pioneers.

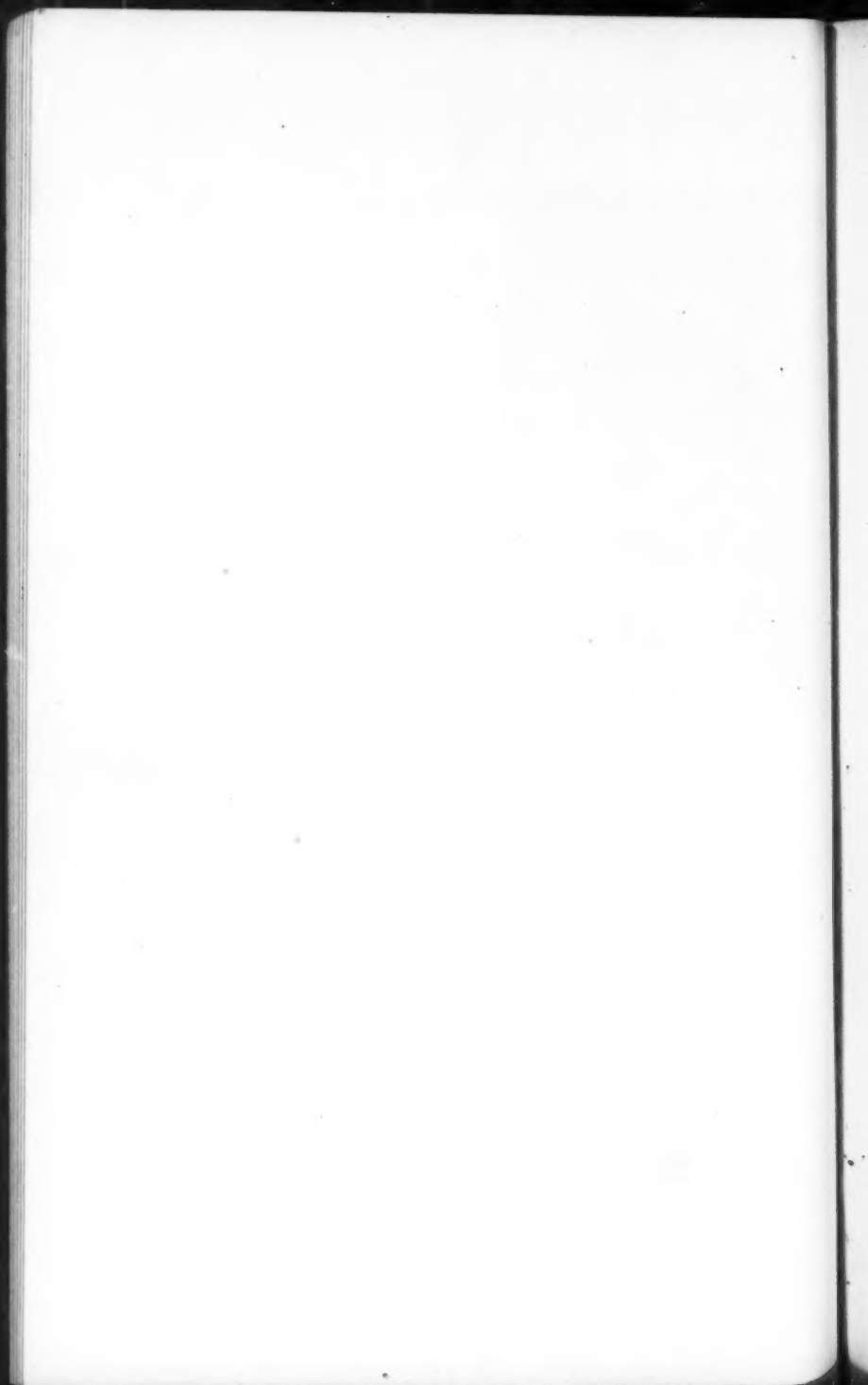
In the early settling of the country the mills were few in number and often ten to fifteen miles apart. But as popula-



Stalagmite 40 Feet High in Marvel Cave.
(Courtesy Mo. Pac. Ry. Co.)



Stalagmite Resembling a Turkey in Marvel Cave.
(Courtesy Mo. Pac. Ry. Co.)



tion increased the number of mills increased until nearly every neighborhood could be accommodated. In the mills on the smaller streams, they had millstones for grinding only corn into meal, the wheat for making into flour being taken to mills having bolting machinery attached.

On the small streams where the small mills were built, the working power was secured by damming the stream some distance above the mill and conveying the water in troughs to the top of the driving wheel, which had boxes or buckets fastened to the spokes radiating from the axis which were filled by the water pouring over the wheel and turning it by the weight of the water, each box or bucket being emptied when the revolution of the wheel brought it directly under the wheel. This slow process in grinding meal was not very satisfactory, but when kept steadily going would do a good deal of work in a day and meet the demands of customers in the neighborhood.

On the larger streams like Shoal River, Spring River, Big Indian Creek, and Cowskin or Elk River, larger mills were put up with more elaborate machinery for making flour, and sometimes there was power enough derived from the driving wheel to run the machinery of a sawmill or carding mill. These larger mills were run by a working power caused by the turning of an undershot wheel, a wheel whose axis had radiating from it spokes, on the distal parts of which were fastened paddles or broad boards to catch the force of the water issuing from the sluice.

But to get this concentrated body of water with such strong pushing force as was required, preparatory work had to be done; a dam had to be constructed across the stream perhaps half a mile or more above the mill, and a race or short canal cut and the water turned into it, that it might flow with a descending velocity until it struck the paddles of the driving or undershot wheel.

When the mill was not running the water in the race was held back by a sluice, and when it was desired to start it up the sluice gate was opened. We called the water above the dam the mill pond, for it backed up sometimes a mile or so

and had scarcely any current; but when the stream was high from heavy rains, the water not needed in the race flowed over the dam, and when it was low, nearly all the water was turned into the race.

There are many fine water-power sites on all the streams of that section, suitable not only for mills but also for other manufacturing purposes, and they must assume greater importance in the future when our people will see the necessity of conserving the resources which nature has put into our hands. The streams of this western slope of the Ozark region are peculiarly adapted to milling and manufacturing purposes, for they are perennial and of medium velocity in their descent.

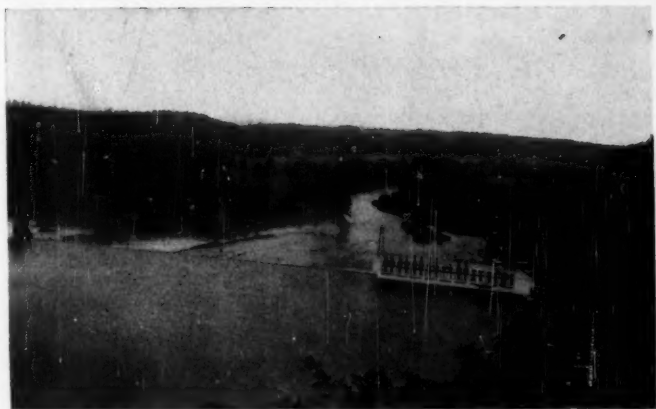
There are two water-power sites which deserve mention; they are the Shoals and Grand Falls, eight and twelve miles northwest of us on Shoal River, now in the suburbs of the city of Joplin. At the Shoals the water of the stream has cut a gorge through strata of solid rock, about two hundred feet wide at the water's edge, which descends at the rate of perhaps fifty feet in half a mile over boulders of all sizes.

The roaring of the water pouring through the gorge and over the Shoals on still evenings is often heard several miles distant, and naturally attracted the attention of the early settlers to the locality, not only on account of the picturesqueness of it, but as a suitable place for a water-power mill site.

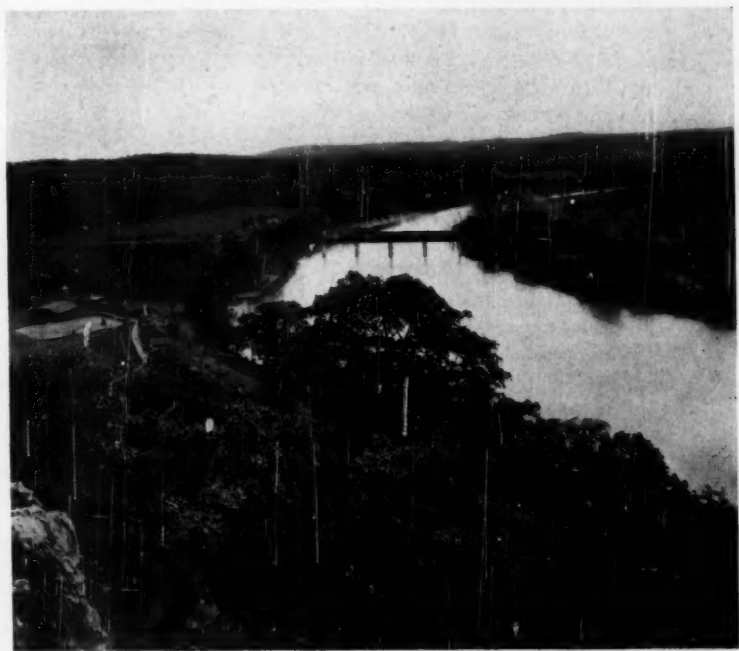
Here the mill was erected on the bank of the stream near the head of the shoal and the necessary force of the water secured without the cost and trouble of making a dam and cutting a race.

This place, too, was recognized as suitable for a mill site and excellent grist, flouring and carding mills were put up there many years before the war, and had customers sometimes from a distance of twenty-five miles or more, even the Cherokee, Seneca and Quapaw Indians coming there from the Indian Territory, to have their corn and wheat made into meal and flour, and their wool carded into rolls.

Since the industry of that section has made Joplin a city, the value and importance of Grand Falls have been utilized;



The Dam Across White River at Powersite, Mo., Forming Lake Taneycomo.
(Courtesy Mo. Pac. Ry. Co.)



The White River Country near Hollister and Branson, Mo.
(Courtesy Mo. Pac. Ry. Co.)

a dam has been built upon the ledge of rock, giving the water pouring over it a fall of about twenty-six feet, which has increased the power proportionately for use in manufacturing of electricity.

The power derived from these falls and the Shoals is probably worth to that section annually upwards of a million dollars, and as the stream rarely gets very low in the summer, dams could be made every three or four miles above the Shoals that would furnish power for doing a large part of the work in the territory drained by it, thus enabling the people to economize in the use of coal.

In the counties of western Missouri north of Jasper county the streams are not perennial, or rarely so; the terrene is generally flat; the streams are sluggish and flow in deep, narrow channels, the distance from bank to bank in some of them being not much greater than their depth.

These streams are not as much fed by living springs, but by the rains falling on the surface in the immediate vicinity and dry up nearly every summer, or become so low that the best of them do not afford water enough to run a mill. There were mills on nearly all these streams until the introduction of steam-power mills, and they could supply their patrons with flour and meal the greater part of the year except during the dry season.

On account of the high banks of the streams the water held by the dam is turned aside into a sluice and opened to start the mill or the revolutions of the big wheel, making it unnecessary to have a race.

The mill was a place where the men of the neighborhood met and exchanged views on domestic, religious and political subjects. While each had to wait his turn, this did not mean that every time he took his grain to mill he waited for it to be ground, for in most cases he had it measured and exchanged it for the amount of meal it would make after taking out the toll.

This did not necessarily consume much time, and yet it might take several hours when the miller had a rush of customers and was obliged to measure the grain and take out

the toll of each and give him his proper amount of meal or flour.

It sometimes happened in dry seasons that the small streams did not afford water enough to run the mills on them, and then the people of the neighborhood were obliged to take their grain to the larger mills at a distance. If a farmer had to take his grain twenty to twenty-five miles to mill, he generally took a cart or wagon load at a time, and as the miller did not always have enough meal or flour on hand to exchange for that amount of grain, the customer might have to wait two or three days for his grist.

Nearly everybody living within two or three miles of the mill, took their grain in a sack that held two bushels, which was thrown across the back of a horse with the rider sitting on it. Any one having time to spend a few hours at the mill on almost any day in the year except Sunday and on all the converging roads, might have seen men and boys wending their way leisurely to mill, each sitting on his sack of grain thrown across his horse, and departing from the mill in a similar manner. A few people used ox-carts, which meant slow movement over the rough roads of the early days of that section. But the movements of the people were gauged by the ox-carts in nearly everything, for life was then less strenuous than later.

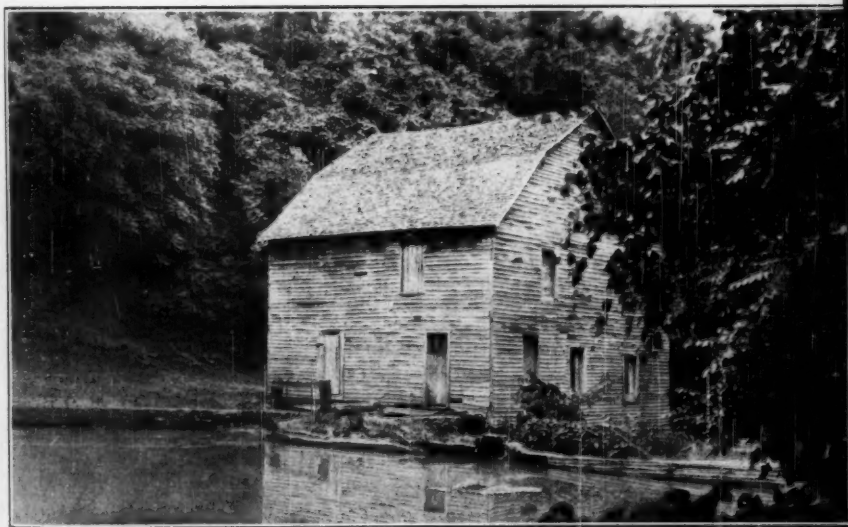
While it was difficult for the early pioneers to raise many sheep on account of the depredations of wolves, yet nearly every family raised a few head, more for their wool than for their flesh. Every family had to have wool for making their clothing, stockings and bed covering, and looked after their sheep as one of the most important factors of domestic economy, keeping them in pens during the winter to protect them from wolves.

After shearing the sheep in the spring, the wool was washed and dried and put away in large sacks, and carded by hand-cards into rolls, by the mothers and daughters as opportunity afforded, and laid away for spinning into thread for the loom. Practically all the pioneer women carded their wool into rolls with hand-cards; but gradually water-power and



Rapids in Hahatonka Park Stream.

(Courtesy R. M. Snyder, Jr.)



Old Grist Mill, Hahatonka Park.

(Courtesy R. M. Snyder, Jr.)



horse-power carding machines came into use, which made a great saving in time and labor.

But as the carding machines were not always convenient to the families of some neighborhoods, quite a number of women adhered to the use of the hand-cards up to the war, using them with great skill and dexterity in carding rolls for the spinning-wheel.

CHAPTER IV.

PASSING OF THE PASSENGER PIGEON.

From my earliest recollection up to the Civil War, nearly every year there were immense flocks of wild pigeons, known as the Passenger Pigeon, that visited our section in the autumn and spring, to feed on the mast or crops of acorns.

Of acorn-producing trees there were the white oak, post oak, black oak, blackjack, and burr oaks in the creek and river bottoms. Many people allowed their hogs to fatten on this mast. Indeed, there were many families, particularly those who raised only small patches of corn, that depended almost entirely on mast-fed hogs for their pork and bacon.

In good weather in the late autumn, flocks of wild pigeons were seen passing over us, all flying in the same direction from or to their roosts in the forests. As the season advanced the flocks increased in size, until late in the afternoons they covered the visible horizon for an hour or so at a time, obscuring the light of the sun like a heavy cloud passing over its face.

On the advent of cold weather, the pigeons disappeared, going south as far as we could make out, and were not seen again until the next spring.

In the forenoon and on up to the middle of the afternoon, any one going through the forests saw them everywhere feeding on the mast, but nearly always in constant motion. In feeding, flocks of hundreds and thousands were frequently seen at intervals to dive down to the ground with a buzzing roar to pick up acorns, and remaining on the ground only a moment, they arose to continue the process. They did, how-

ever, at times alight on the ground to rest and feed, perhaps, for on coming near them they became frightened and the flock arose with a roar.

We have heard it stated that in the open country in some parts of Iowa that great flocks of pigeons alighted long enough in the fields to scratch up and take away every grain of wheat in the autumn; but in our section there was no complaint of this.

They usually came in such large flocks that they soon devoured the mast and then disappeared until the next spring, when they returned and finished that which had fallen during the winter, and disappeared again as flocks; but as the mating and nesting season came on later in the spring they were seen in pairs.

The female was not quite as large as the male, with some slight difference in coloring about the neck and breast. She laid two eggs in her nest and sat on them several weeks until the young birds were hatched, after which she and her mate fed them with worms and insects. The young birds grew very rapidly for a week or so; they became very fat and clumsy and looked to be nearly as large as the parent birds; but their feathers were not so well developed. They were much sought in the late spring for food, and nearly everybody in that section could testify as to the delicious meat of the squab. Overgrown, fat young persons, clumsy and awkward, were spoken of as squabby, a term suggested from the uncouth appearance of the young pigeon.

In the breaks and rocks and woods of the most inaccessible parts of that region, we did not hear of the nesting and nidification of large numbers of the wild pigeon. A few wild pigeons might have been seen in the unfrequented woods almost any time of the year, except during the cold months of winter; but it was the general belief that those nesting and raising their young in our section, were birds left behind for some cause or other.

Their flights always seemed very rapid, and it has been estimated at a mile a minute; but the flights of the immense flocks seemed to be just a rush forward without any indica-

tion of a definite goal, or the following of a leader, as was always observed in the flights of wild geese and ducks in their migrations. Their flights were always in two lines, V-shaped, with the leader at the apex of the V, and when he honked the others in the lines responded at intervals until they were beyond hearing.

There were pigeon roosts in our county and in other parts of south Missouri, some of them a mile or so in length and breadth, where they roosted every year for several years and dropped their excreta in places to a depth of two or three feet. A road passing near their roost was known as the "Pigeon Roost Road." They roosted in such great numbers on the limbs of trees that many limbs were broken off by their weight. In their flights to their roosts of evenings they generally flew low, and men having rifles or shot-guns, by firing into the flock, were almost certain to bring down several birds; but it was at the roost that the slaughter was greatest, for men and their families drove there at night and, taking clubs and sticks, killed them by hundreds. As the meat of the pigeon was considered almost as delicious as that of quail, one can hardly see why more people did not avail themselves of the opportunity of visiting the pigeon roosts for the purpose of replenishing their larders.

Attempts have been made to determine the number of pigeons, during the flights of some of the immense flocks, passing a given point at a given time. We know the length of a pigeon from the beak to the end of the tail feathers to be about sixteen inches, and the distance from tip to tip of the wings when spread in flight to be at least sixteen inches. In some of the flights they appeared in the distance as bands across the horizon, followed at intervals of a minute or so by other bands, the ends of which seemed to touch low down on the visible horizon; but when the flocks approached overhead, they seemed a seething mass of birds in every direction as far as the eye could see, in such depth one above the other, to obscure the light of the sun like a cloud, the flight sometimes consuming as much as an hour or so.

Let us take a cross-section of a flock, say two hundred yards from front to rear, and twenty-five yards in depth, that is, one pigeon above another, and length of front a mile, and allowing one cubic yard for each bird, would give us 3,800,000 birds passing the cross-section in a minute, or 528 millions in an hour.

For upwards of twenty years following 1883, I traveled as a representative of the Government investigating claims growing out of the war, over Southern Missouri, Northern Arkansas and West Tennessee, a timbered country, and I was struck with the absence of the wild or rock pigeon in all that region, and inquired of different persons about it; but no one remembered having seen a single individual of the species for several years past, although having up to a few years prior to my inquiry, seen immense flocks of them every spring and autumn. They had disappeared from all that region as completely as if the earth had swallowed them up, and also from other parts of the country as far as my knowledge extends, with no indication of ever returning again.

In conversation with one man on the subject he stated that in the late seventies he saw an account in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* where the wild pigeons of this region were of a sudden seized with an impulse for migration, and rose in great flocks and took their flight in a south and southeast direction, and continued it until they fell upon the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and South Atlantic, and perished by millions.*

*Mr. E. D. Love of Kansas City, Kansas, who lived in Kankakee county, Illinois, prior to 1880, states that he had seen during his residence in that State on several occasions, immense flocks of wild pigeons in the autumn and spring seasons of the year; that in the late seventies he saw an account in some newspaper, perhaps the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, where great flocks of wild pigeons in attempting to fly across the ocean, fell upon the waters and perished; that this printed account of their fate was between 1872 and 1880; that he had not seen a wild pigeon in all that region since he saw the published account of their migration, whereas prior to that time he had seen the sky darkened by the immense flocks in their flight.

Mr. Charles Vestch of the Kansas City Book Exchange, an amateur naturalist and collector of insects, has furnished me with a pamphlet, being a reprint from the Smithsonian Institution's Report of 1911, containing an account by Peter Kalm (1759), and John James Audubon, (1831), giving the description, habits and migrations of the Passenger Pigeon, and of the great

The impulse that seized the rock or passenger pigeon to migrate as a race to an unknown region from whence they never returned is a mystery of animal instinct and behavior not yet explained, assuming that the purported account of their migration is true.

While the mast-bearing forests of that region had been somewhat depleted by denuding parts for cultivation in the opening up of homesteads by settlers, and by the increasing use of timber for industrial purposes, it is an unquestioned fact that there were up to the time of the migration, millions of acres of untouched forests that would have furnished mast for large numbers for many years to come. It is therefore probable that some other cause than that of scarcity of mast-food must be sought to explain the race migration of the wild pigeon into a region from whence they never returned.

On coming into that region every autumn and spring, no one seems to have paid any attention and made record of the direction from which they came, or on leaving the direction they were flying, for they were never noticed flying high, as if flying from one part of the country to another.

In the autumn and spring everybody observed flocks of wild geese, brant, cranes, and sometimes wild ducks; in autumn flying south in echelon formation, and in the spring flying north in the same formation. Nearly all in their periodical flights alighted in our meadows, ponds and fields, to feed and rest for a few days. But these species were waterfowl and we understood had their breeding places among the reeds and marches of northern lakes, while the wild pigeon

numbers of this species that visited at intervals the Eastern and Southeastern States prior to the times of their observations. Mr. Kalm states that "About a week or a little later subsequent to the disappearance of this enormous multitude of pigeons, from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, a sea captain by the name of Amies, who had just arrived at Philadelphia, and after him several other seafaring men, stated that they had found localities out at sea where the water, to an extent of over 3 French miles, was entirely covered by dead pigeons of this species. It was conjectured that the pigeons, whether owing to a storm, mist, or snowfall, had been carried away to sea, and then on account of darkness of the following night, or from fatigue, had alighted on the water in that place and manner and met their fate. It is said that from that date no such tremendous numbers of this species of pigeon had been seen in Pennsylvania."

was strictly a land bird, and would naturally have its home in a thickly-wooded region.

We knew that the buffalo migrated north in the spring and south in the autumn; but we heard nothing about the migrations of any wild animals of our section; and yet in the early part of one winter when I was about ten years of age I saw a migration of red squirrels, or fox squirrels, as we called them. The squirrels, of which there were probably a hundred seen in a short space of time, were running along on the rail fences and on the ground, traveling south, like the wild geese.

CHAPTER V.

DEER AND WILD TURKEYS.

The early pioneers of the Ozark region nearly all settled along the streams where good water was convenient, so that in the open woodlands there were herds of deer and flocks of wild turkeys.

The pioneer nearly always knew the haunts of deer and turkeys in his neighborhood, and when the sporting spirit seized him, took his gun, and went out and stalked his game or concealed himself near the spot where it would probably pass or approach. In hearing men tell of their hunting stories we frequently heard the expression, "The proudest day of my life was when I shot my first buck," a feat that nearly every boy hoped to accomplish before growing to manhood.

The sense of smell of the deer was acute, and if the hunter desired to get near his game for a good shot, he approached it from the leeward side, for it was asserted by old hunters that a deer would scent a man half a mile to the windward.

When in the woodlands the ground was covered with snow, the hunter could approach near a deer by screening himself behind a bright red mantle or covering so as to conceal the movements of his hands holding his gun, while the attention of the deer was fixed on the red as if fascinated.

Another way of hunting deer was by salting a spot on the ground and establishing what was called a "deer lick,"

which, when found by a deer, brought others there until it was known by them for several miles around.

A man informed the writer that he and another man had shot and killed more than fifty deer in a year from a platform they had erected in the forks of a tree within easy firing range of the lick. It seems that a deer never looks up or scents trouble from above the level of its horizon, for it has always been in the habit of looking for its enemies on the surface of the ground.

With the native races of this country, as well as with the white man, the deer has always been considered the most desirable of wild game, both for the delicious flavor of its flesh for food, and its skin for making into clothing.

In the early settling of the country it was not an unusual thing for men looking after their stock on the range to see as many as a dozen or so deer in a herd in the woodlands skirting the prairies; but the number seen in herds diminished as the land was taken up for cultivation.

Antlers are found only on the heads of the stags, which they shed every year, and have doubtless developed in the course of time in the struggles between the males for the domination of the herd. But there are instances where the antlers have been a distinct disadvantage to the stag in conflict, for I saw in Thayer, Missouri, two skulls of stags with the antlers to them and interlocked, showing that in the struggle between them their antlers became interlocked so firmly that they could not be released, causing the death of both combatants on the ground where they fought.

There was a good deal of the hunting or sporting spirit among the pioneers, and there were some families in every neighborhood that kept a pack of deer or fox hounds for hunting. When the hounds were on the scent of a deer the hunters stationed themselves at a point near which the deer would likely pass, and got a shot at it.

Wolves and foxes were also hunted with hounds. They preyed upon the farmer's flocks of sheep and on his pigs and geese and chickens and there was a bounty of one dollar paid

by the State for each wolf scalp, making some inducement to trap and kill wolves.

Nearly everybody of that day was familiar with the buckskin pants and coat of the hunter, generally trimmed along the seams with beads, and this style of dress of the woodsman was in evidence up to the war, for we had with us what were known as the "Buckskin Scouts," who were familiar with the trails thru the most unfrequented parts of that country, and were sometimes of great service to the army.

With the increase of settlements, deer and wild turkeys gradually decreased up to the war, but by the third year of the war, hunting having almost entirely ceased, they had noticeably increased, for the soldiers as they marched through the country, frequently saw herds of deer and flocks of wild turkeys.

Sometimes people had success in trapping wild turkeys by building a covered rail pen in the woods they frequented and digging a trench from the outside a foot or so wide and deep and sloping to the surface at both ends, one end entering the pen. By scattering grains of corn about the entrance of the trench and along it until it entered the trench, the turkeys on finding the corn continued picking it up until it took them into the pen.

After a severe winter we always noticed that quail were scarcer the following summer; and thus we are impressed that nature nearly always intervenes when necessary to check over-population of a species. In many cases during severe winters the quail around a farm, and sometimes wild turkeys, came in and fed with the chickens in the yard, or about the barn, picking up grain.

The conservation of birds and animals considered useful to man, is a problem that may require further legislation, for it may be important to know how far the hawk tribe, which preys on birds and small animals, should be exterminated, how far it is useful in destroying birds and animals that are not useful.

There is a very complete web of relations between man and the lower animals, and even insects, which should be

understood before undertaking the wholesale destruction of a species.

It does not make so much difference about the preservation of the wild turkey, for we have the domestic turkey, but if it proves impracticable to domesticate the deer, it should be preserved and allowed to multiply in our National and other parks as far as desirable.

CHAPTER VI.

DOMESTIC AND WILD BEES.

Up to the early fifties, before the introduction of sorghum cane, the families in the country of the Ozark region used very little saccharine matter for sweetening except honey, so that nearly all kept a few hives of bees, housed in bee-gums.

In some dictionaries bee-gum is defined as a gum tree in which bees live, but we did not use the word bee-gum in that sense at all. A bee-gum, as we used the word, meant a section sawed out of a hollow tree about three feet in length and a foot or more in diameter set upon a smooth foundation of wood, the upper end covered sloping with eaves of two or three inches to shed the rain; and around the lower end there were several openings or doors about an inch in height and width to allow the bees to pass out and in. Where it was not convenient to secure the section of a hollow tree to hive the bees in, a box was used.

Holes were bored through the four sides of the box or bee-gum, through which wooden rods passed, crossing each other in the center and on which the bees made their comb.

When the bees of a hive swarmed in the summer, there was great interest taken by the owner, and measures at once adopted for hiving them to prevent them from escaping. If there was a cow-bell on the place, the vigorous ringing of it tended to settle the swarm on some object until the queen could be found and placed in the bee-gum, when the swarm immediately followed her.

There was an abundance of different kinds of wild flowers from which the bees made honey, and their hives were

well stored with it except when the season was unusually dry. Any one dealing with bees found that like human communities, they had their lean years as well as fat years, and the intelligent humane owner respected their honey-making capacity during the lean years, or he would starve his hive in the winter and lose it.

When there was reason to believe that a gum was filled to its capacity with honey, preparations were made for taking out at night as much of the rich comb as desired.

In the operation of taking out the comb it was usually the practice to carefully remove the top of the hive and then by a slow-burning torch of rags fastened around a stick let the smoke from it force the bees into the lower part of the hive without injuring them.

It was noted some people were much more successful in handling bees than others without getting stung, and it seemed that if certain persons came around the hive, or when taking out honey, the bees were aroused to anger and in a fighting mood at once.

A breakfast of corn bread with proper shortening, light biscuit or hot cakes spread with fresh sweet butter and honey and eaten with rich cream milk would likely be relished by those who have been brought up in the most cultured centers of our country. And yet such was the family menu, when they wished it, of the people who did not boast of wealth or culture, and who, with the simple means at hand, were always striving to better their condition by honesty, industry and generous acts towards each other.

But delicious and appetizing as such a meal or breakfast was, we crave variety in food, and to meet this demand there were, in the hilly and rougher parts of the Ozark region, hard maple trees in considerable numbers, from which some families made maple sugar in quantities greater than they required and exchanged the excess for honey with families who produced more than they needed.

As the maple trees were restricted to the rougher parts of that region, the maple sugar or syrup that could be spared

by the producers did not generally get much beyond the neighborhood of production.

There were many swarms of bees from the hives of owners that escaped unobserved and settled in the woods or forests until the queens found new homes for them in the trunks of hollow trees and led them there. From these escaping swarms there came to be in the wooded part of that country quite a number of wild bees, which brought into existence the bee hunter, who sometimes neglected every other business during the greater part of the year for the lure of bee hunting.

A bee tree when found and the honey taken out, rarely yielded more honey than an average hive, and probably did not exchange for more than three or four bushels of corn meal and a couple of hams or sides of bacon. But the bee hunter was frequently a hunter of other wild game, such as wild turkeys, deer, pelt-producing animals of the woods and streams, took in fishing, and by assisting his neighbors in times of need, as in harvesting and gathering their crops, managed to eke out a scanty living for his family.

It would hardly be fair to call our hunters lazy, for it often required a greater expenditure of energy to tramp all day in search of game for food than the energy expended by the farmer in following his plough all day in tending his crop.

In his plan of hunting bees the bee hunter put out sweetening that attracted them to the spot, and when they were filled and took their flight, watched them start and as far as he could follow them by his eye in their course to their home, or as they "made a bee line" for the tree that housed the swarm.

By following the course of the bee from the lure or bait, and by examining the trunk of every tree for bees flying or swarming around the entrance to their hive, he was almost certain to find it in his search of a mile or so, and when found, marked the place so that he could return to it when he was ready to cut down the tree and secure the honey.

As honey was not suitable for all kinds of sweetening in the domestic economy of the home, the introduction and cul-

tivation of sorghum cane by the farmer came to fill a distinct need in that respect. There was no one so poor but that he could raise the fraction of an acre of sorghum cane, from which could be pressed out in the wooden mill made for the purpose, enough of the sweet juice from the stalks to make from one-half to a barrel of sorghum syrup, probably enough to last a family for a year. In a few years after its introduction, nearly every farmer was raising sorghum, and it has gradually become an important item of the family menu.

CHAPTER VII.

WINTER AND SPRING ON THE FARM.

On the farm every season had its particular kind of work; there was no season of idleness.

In the long winter evenings after the supper was over the children of the family sat about the blazing hard-wood fire in front of the open fire-place, cracking and eating nuts, which had lately been gathered and stored away for winter, until each had become satisfied, and retired for the night.

In getting up wood for winter we always had some large logs for back-logs. A part of the wood we used as fuel was green hickory, and as the lengths were gradually consumed, a sweet substance oozed out of the unburnt ends, which we called "hickory goody," and which every child in that section sought eagerly with a spoon or knife and ate with a keen relish, for the flavor was certainly as fine as that of maple sugar.

But while the children were thus employed chatting and gossiping about childish affairs, the mother was never idle, but busy knitting stockings, or mending clothing, or carding rolls and spinning them into thread. Other evenings of the winter were passed by the children gossiping about the events of their daily lives; about the trapping of birds, quails or rabbits; or perhaps of noting a wolf track in the snow. It was not an unusual thing for a wolf to get into a sheep pen at night and kill several, or carry off one or more pigs from the bed of a sow in the woods near the house. In all the depre-

dations of wolves on flocks of sheep, we never heard of them devouring any part of the carcass; but they just seemed satisfied to suck the blood from the animal, and a hungry wolf might kill half a dozen head of sheep in a single night.

With the woods resounding nearly every day with the yelping or barking of hounds on the scent of foxes, deer, or wolves, or the treeing of coons, there was always something of interest to the children to talk about. But every day during the winter the boys of the family large enough to work were busy in the morning making fires and feeding and watering the stock; gathering corn in the field and hauling and cribbing it, and husking the corn and hauling the stalks to the feeding place for the cattle.

When this work did not consume all their time, there was generally a piece of ground to be cleared for planting in corn the next spring. There were not many days too cold for work in the clearing, for the workers could warm themselves before big brush fires.

There was hardly any of the men or boys living in the country at that time accustomed to wearing undergarments or overcoats during the winter months, even when the temperature touched zero or below, and as judged by later requirements, they were not clad in clothing warm enough for health and comfort. In the severest weather they stayed in-doors and close around their homes and were not exposed long at a time to the biting cold.

But even in stormy, rainy weather, work was found for the boys in husking or shucking corn in the cribs which were covered with boards, and in cutting fire wood.

It was not the custom then in that section to husk the corn as it was pulled from the stalk in the field, a practice that has come into use on many farms since the war, but in ante-bellum times it was pulled from the stalk with the shucks on and thrown into a wagon and hauled up and cribbed.

In the new method of gathering corn the corn husker has a husking peg attached to a leather band fastened around his right hand so that he can manipulate it with his thumb and fingers. An ear of corn on the stalk is seized with the

left hand and then stuck with the point of the husking peg in the right hand at the point where the shuck is attached to the cob, and in an instant in one time two motions, detached and thrown into the wagon, leaving the shuck on the stalk for provender.

This method of gathering corn has advantages over the old in that it saves handling the corn two or three times, besides leaving the shuck on the stalk for the stock to feed on in the winter.

Some champion corn huskers have made remarkable records by this method of gathering corn, in some instances having records of upwards of one hundred bushels in a day of about eight hours.

When the old system of cribbing corn with the shucks on prevailed, there were corn-shucking parties in nearly every neighborhood during the winter, at which the young people in particular were invited, and at which a good dinner was always served. These parties generally ended with a dance and music, but if the master of the house was too strict in his religious views to allow dancing, some other form of amusement and entertainment was arranged. There was in every neighborhood a fiddler and he was much in demand in the winter season when dancing parties mostly prevailed.

The winter having passed, and with it the season of social entertainments among the neighbors, the spring opened with new duties. About the first of March ploughing was commenced. In those days most of the ploughing and hauling of timber was done with a pair of oxen, and in many instances oxen were used in tending the crops of corn. In breaking up new ground two pairs of oxen were used with a heavier plow than was used with one pair. In breaking fresh open land that had wild grass on it forming a sod, we planted what we called sod corn; that is, when the plough cut a furrow four or five inches deep by ten to twelve inches wide, throwing the ribbon-like layer of sod on the right side of the furrow, the corn planter came along dropping grains of corn in it a few inches apart, and in the next round of the plough it cut a strip of sod, and throwing it over to the right, covered

up the corn, and it generally came up without being disturbed by the moles, as the plantings were in the fields which had been cultivated for years.

If the season was favorable the sod corn crop made a fair yield; but as the stalks were smaller and the blades kept green longer, the crop was usually cut and shocked for feed for stock. There was always more or less preparation of the cleared land for planting in corn, for there was generally some difficulty in ploughing it on account of stumps.

As the days lengthened, very little time was lost in fair weather from ploughing and breaking up the corn stalks in the field and burning them and making ready for sowing oats and planting corn. In that section oats were usually sown the latter part of March, and corn planted any time from the first of April to the latter part of May, and in some instances as late as in the first week of June.

Nearly every spring the farmers had trouble with moles finding and eating the grains of corn which had been planted, making it necessary to replant two or three times to secure a good stand. The ground was laid off in check rows so that the corn could be ploughed both ways, and a mole would sometimes strike a row and follow it, taking every grain of corn in the hills.

In a couple of weeks after planting the corn it was up a few inches and large enough to plow with a shovel plow or cultivator. From this time on up to the laying by of the corn about the first of July, it was a struggle between the farmer and the weeds, but the farmer, if he was industrious and there was not too much wet weather, was certain to come out the victor.

Probably there are very few men who have not traveled rather extensively over the country and come in contact with the farm population, realize that the greater part of the work on the farm is done by boys from ten to sixteen or seventeen years of age. It was often the ambition of many boys to be large enough and able to follow the plough like a man, but in most cases that ambition in a few years is fully satisfied.

It was the custom to give the corn three or four ploughings before laying it by, leaving it about as high as a man's shoulders, and if possible clean of weeds and grass. After the first or second ploughing when the corn was about knee high, we used a mould-board plough drawn by two horses, which threw the soil up against the hills which were at the intersection of the check rows, and which made ridges along the corn row.

In a few weeks after the corn crop was laid by we knew we should have sweet delicious roasting ears as a part of the dinner menu, always a welcome change at that season when strawberries, raspberries and blackberries had disappeared from the table.

We barely had the corn crop out of the way when the wheat harvest was coming on, which had to be attended to promptly to prevent the loss of grain by the wheat becoming too ripe and falling down and too much tangled to cut with a scythe. The farmer who had too large a crop to handle with his own help, generally engaged in advance the required number of cradlers and binders to assist him in cutting, binding and shocking his wheat. Later, when the reaper and binder came into use, which was only a few years prior to the war, in our section farmers, excepting those having small crops of wheat, generally arranged to have their crops cut and bound with the new machine.

But whether the crop was harvested by the hired help of cradlers and binders, or by the reaper and binder, it was an event that called for a good dinner at the farm house, the most prominent feature of which was an abundance of fried chicken and stewed chicken and dumplings, berries of the season, honey, milk and butter, bread and strong coffee with rich cream turning it to a golden color.

When neither thirst nor hunger remained unsatisfied, each of the guests rose from the table, sought a shade and rested for an hour, and then resumed their work in the field and continued it until the wheat crop was cut, bound and put up in shocks. It was the custom of the time, of which no one thought it an impropriety, for the master of the farm to

provide on such occasions, a jug of pure whiskey for his harvest help, a failure to do so bringing upon him the unfavorable comment of stinginess. No one thought of indulging to excess, and the men were generally modest in their demands for it, partaking of small quantities of an ounce or so at intervals of three or four times a day; but all seemed to regard it as a necessary stimulant in their work, and aiding them in doing it with cheerfulness and buoyancy. Even men who would go to town to get drunk, rarely allowed themselves to drink to excess in the harvest field, and men who were known to use liquor too freely, or to go on sprees now and then, often made good harvest hands.

In those ante-bellum times there was a small distillery in nearly every neighborhood, and whiskey was cheap, compared to what it was after the war, when the Government put an Internal Revenue Tax on it. Prior to imposing the tax on it, it was selling for forty to fifty cents a gallon. In the southern border slave states the custom of many families of sending some one to the distillery for a jug of whiskey was so universal that it was woven into the chorus of a minstrel song, "Little Brown Jug don't bother me," and was so catchy that for several years many people might be heard humming it.

When wheat was cut with the scythe and cradle and laid in swathes, as we called it, there was always some man in the neighborhood who had the reputation of being the fastest cradler in it, and was in much demand when harvest commenced, and was generally paid half a dollar or more per day more than the average hand, for he would cut from an acre to an acre and a half more wheat per day than his competitors.

From an acre and a half to two acres was an average day's work for a man cutting wheat with a scythe and cradle, for it was hard work, tiring mostly the arms and shoulders in swinging the scythe and cradle hour after hour on a warm day.

After the wheat was cut and shocked it was generally allowed to stand in the shock a week or so, when it was

hauled by the farmer to a convenient place and stacked. It was always desirable to get the shocks out of the field and the wheat stacked as early as practicable, for if wet weather should set in and last for several days, the two or three sheaves spread out and thrown over the top of the shock to shed the rain, would begin to mould and rot, causing some loss of grain; besides there would be a loss from birds and crows feeding on the grain.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUMMER AND AUTUMN ON THE FARM.

When the other crops which came after the wheat harvest were out of the way arrangements were made for tramping out the wheat.

A smooth piece of ground near the stacks was cleaned and tamped down, with a small platform in the center, and around this the sheaves of wheat were placed, with the heads of grain up, and then the horses were ready to enter. Some farmers had a better arrangement than this; they had a space between two cribs all under one roof and was much better than that out in the open method, for it secured the grain cleaner. The ring of sheaves was wide enough to allow two or three horses to go around abreast, a boy rider leading one or two, and as many horses in twos and threes as the farmer had to spare.

When the heads of the sheaves had the wheat thoroughly tramped out, the crushed straw was removed and the wheat and chaff gathered up ready for the fanning mill. Usually there were several trappings, the process always requiring clear, dry weather.

Separating the wheat from the chaff in the fanning mill was a tedious process and many a boy could have testified to getting dreadfully tired in his arms from turning the crank of the mill in blowing out the chaff.

Where only small crops of an acre or so were raised it was not unusual to see the wheat beaten out with a flail, and the wheat cleaned by putting it and the chaff in a sieve or

basket and having a man, while holding the sieve at an elevation as high as his head, gradually empty the wheat and chaff during a strong breeze so that the wheat would fall on a sheet, the chaff being blown away. This primitive process of cleaning wheat was not much used in our section.

A few years before the war a horse-power threshing machine came into use and rapidly superseded the process of tramping and cleaning with the fanning mill. The threshing machines of that day, with their cumbersome attachments, would appear at the present time quite ancient.

About the time of the introduction of the threshing machine, the reaper and mower came into use, the reaper for cutting wheat and oats and laying the grain in swathes or in heaps convenient for binding; and the mower was the same machine with an attachment for lowering the scythe, for cutting timothy or wild grass.

In those days we did not have the reaper and binder combined as now; there were several hands following the reaper and picked up the grain as it fell from it and bound it into bundles, and others came along and made it into a shock.

Nearly all cut with a reaper in a short time after the machine was introduced. When first introduced, one machine could do the cutting of the wheat and oats for quite a neighborhood. In a few years a good many farmers owned their reapers and mowers, which enabled them to raise larger crops of wheat, oats and hay.

With the threshing of the wheat, and the stacking of the oats and hay, the work of the summer was about completed, giving the farmer and his children a breathing spell from their strenuous labors during the season. The season was now at hand of watermelons, muskmelons, peaches, wild plums, and wild grapes, and grown folk and young were delighted to enjoy the delicious fruits and melons.

At that time nearly every family had a small orchard of peach, apple or pear trees, and raised enough of this fruit to last during the season; in many instances part of this fruit

was cut and dried and kept in dry places for winter. We had early and late varieties of each, apples and peaches.

There were some seasons of very great waste of these fruits, particularly seasons when the yield was large. But generally most of this fruit was saved in some form or other. There was very little market for it except for winter apples or late varieties that were picked and stored away in outdoor cellars.

If a family could not use all the apples which had been thus stored, there were sometimes demands among the neighbors for them during the winter and spring at forty to fifty cents a bushel. We did not then have apple buyers coming around early every autumn, as was later the custom. The soil and climate of that region was well adapted to growing many varieties of fruits and berries, but there was no market for them.

One frequently saw in the county towns during the season of the ripening of a fruit, wagon loads brought in by farmers and sold around the courthouse square at ten cents a bushel, or even given away if it happened that there were several loads in town at the same time.

Many families cut and dried such parts of their peach and apple crops as were not required for present use, always selecting the soundest fruit for that purpose. After cutting up the fruit it was spread out on boards or sheets in the warm sun to dry. Some families, however, dried their fruit by kilns. It was a kind of furnace made of two walls and covered with thin slabs of limestone, and one end had a low chimney to make a draft and allow the smoke to escape, and the other end was open for putting in wood and keeping up a fire.

A slow, hot fire heated the top or roof of the kiln on which the fruit was placed, and dried it slowly or rapidly as was desired, and when under cover could be used any kind of weather.

With a kiln of this kind several changes of fruit could be dried in a day and stored in sacks in a dry place and held for use or sale. This work of cutting and drying the fruit every

year was always done by the mother and her children, and was an important item in the economy of the home. But only a part of the apples was cut up and dried for future use, the remainder, and perhaps the larger part, being culled over and the soundest ones laid aside for winter, and those with bruises for passing through the cider press. Nearly every farmer who had an orchard had a cider press, and if he did not have one he could haul his apples to his near neighbor who had one and have a barrel of cider made for a small toll of a few gallons.

To many persons there was not a more delicious beverage than good sweet cider, and some kept it after it commenced to get hard and have an edge on it; but as it never produced intoxication it never had a ban on it. In some respects it was like honey; that is, it cloyed and satiated the appetite after one had taken a couple of glasses at intervals of several minutes.

No one made a specialty of fruit farms in that region, as in later years where there are fruit farms of two, three and four thousand acres each. In that same region of south and southwest Missouri where we had a dozen or so apple, peach and pear trees in ante-bellum days, there are now many fruit farms running into thousands of acres.

The latter part of August or early part of September, we commenced preparing for sowing fall wheat, by ploughing and turning under the wheat and oat stubble and grasses, which were considered by some farmers as good fertilizers to the soil. This work was usually done by the plowman driving a pair of oxen, horses or mules, and if he turned over as much as two acres a day, he was kept quite busy. When oxen were used they were generally turned out of nights with bells on to graze on the wild grass, and sometimes were difficult to find the next morning by keeping very quiet, having laid down to rest the latter part of the night in a secluded spot. They were accused by the children of playing hookie or hiding out to keep from work the next day.

We did not then have the wheat or corn drill, and in a month or six weeks after the ground had been ploughed, the

wheat was sown and harrowed in, a task of working in the dust and dirt that no boy coveted.

Even at that time most farmers in our section believed that rotation of crops was beneficial to the land, and when practicable, sowed their wheat between the corn rows and covered it with a shovel plough. Even with the disadvantages of getting a good stand of wheat by this method of sowing, it was the general verdict of the farmers that the crops thus sown made as good, and frequently better yields of wheat than that sown on the stubble land.

There was always this trouble about the crops that had been sown between the corn rows: the corn stalks had to be cut near the ground with a hoe during the freezing weather of winter or the dry weather of spring, when the stalks were brittle, so as not to obstruct the scythe and cradle, and later the reaper, when the crop was ripe for cutting. In some instances the farmer with a pair of horses and a wooden roller went over the corn stalks breaking them down smooth on the ground.

A farmer of those days may not have known much about agronomy, or the science of agriculture, or of the bacteria of the soil, parasites that affected and weakened it; but he had a lot of hard sense gained by observation at first hand; for example, that succession of crops, as crops of wheat grown on the same land of a field for several years in succession, tended to weaken the soil and cause the crop each succeeding year to become less vigorous and the yield less and less per acre.

In all that region prior to the war the farmers lost hundreds of head of cattle; in some instances almost entire herds being wiped out, involving losses of many thousands of dollars, by what was known as Texas fever, sometimes called Spanish fever. It was known by the farmers of our section that when a herd had been driven from Texas, and passed through south Missouri to the markets further north, that the native cattle grazing on or passing over the trail of the foreign herd, even a month or so after, were infected with the Texas fever, nearly all the cases of which proved fatal.

The herds from the south were healthy and immune from the disease, and our native cattle were healthy until they passed over or grazed on that fatal trail.

Here was a mysterious disease causing the annual loss of thousands of head of cattle, that went on an unsolved problem year after year until many years after the war, when, after investigations by many workers, it was found that the disease was caused by a tick that had been brought by the foreign cattle. It was also found that the disease was not transferred directly by the tick which had fed upon an infected animal, but from the young ticks which were hatched from it eggs.

Now the problem was to destroy the ticks on the infected cattle, and for that purpose dipping tanks were provided at certain railroad stations on roads over which cattle were shipped from the proscribed territory.

There had been trouble for many years in south Missouri and south Kansas between the citizens and drovers who attempted to drive their herds of cattle from the proscribed or infected territory through these states to northern markets, and in some cases there were regular battles between the citizens and drivers of the herds, in which there was frequently loss of life and destruction of entire herds.

The matter became of such serious import that legislation was enacted in both states prohibiting the driving of herds of cattle from the proscribed region through any part of the territory of the commonwealths subject to the disease.

We had such an abundance of wild grass in that section that the farmer allowed his stock to graze in the open woods or on the prairies, so that we were not required to think much about fall pastures.

The timothy meadows were small, rarely exceeding ten to twelve acres, and as everybody could have all the prairie hay they wished, by hauling it home, a good many farmers did not raise any timothy. Most of the wild grass suitable for hay was probably at that early day on Government land, but even if it was not, the owner was not likely to object to any one cutting the grass, for in a few weeks it was certain to be

burned off during the general prairie fires. It would be only a month or so when shortly after the first frost, the grass would become seared and dry, and liable to be burned off any day, for prairie fires were frequent in the autumn and spring of every year.

To the childish mind there was no grander sight than to witness a prairie fire or woods fire at night, particularly if the grass was long enough to make the flames that leaped eight to ten feet high, and extend as far as the eye could see.

In the early settling of the country the wild grass in some parts grew to the height of a man's head; but gradually, as the population increased, and with it the increase of stock grazing, the grass did not attain such rank growth.

The beef we used was nearly all grass-fed and was of a good quality during the summer and autumn and on up to the time we commenced feeding them corn, hay and fodder after being brought in off the range. There was one feature of stockraising in that section that must have impressed any one who was familiar with better methods, and that was the absence of shelter for cattle in the winter, except that one or two cows might be kept in a shed. But most of the farmers provided stables for their horses and covered inclosures for their sheep and hogs.

It was painful indeed to see a herd of cattle on a bitter cold day covered with ice and snow and shivering in the cold wind. In many cases, however, such conditions were not allowed to exist where farmers had put up stacks of hay or straw, and in severe weather let their cattle in to them to feed. As many cattle as a farmer usually had could have stood around and fed from one or two stacks; but there were nearly always one or two pugnacious animals who were constantly horning those more peaceably disposed. Since that time a good many farmers have taken to dehorning their cattle and raising breeds without horns, and under these conditions a herd will stand around a stack of hay close together feeding.

Later, but before the war, a few farmers moved into the different counties of that section from Iowa and northern

Illinois where the winters were severe, built separate sheds, standing east and west with the north sides and ends closed so as to keep out the cold winds and rains and feeding them there, protected their stock in severe weather.

The early settlers who had been frequently sustaining heavy losses, were gradually awakened to the need of protecting their animals with shelter during the winter months and built sheds for them. We knew about cattle living all winter in the cane brakes on Grand River, Indian Territory, and on the Arkansas River, and as the winters of our section were sometimes so mild that cattle, sheep and hogs lived on the range all winter, some farmers had drifted into the habit of not taking proper measures for protecting their stock with shelter during the hard winter that was certain to come.

In the course of a dozen years, there was a wide variation of temperature and the amount of snow that fell during the winter months, and of rain that fell during the summer months, which many farmers might have observed to their advantage.

It was a custom that prevailed widely, that nearly every farmer who raised corn, in the latter part of summer, while the blades were green on the stalks and the ears had commenced to harden, to strip off the blades and after being properly cured in the sun one or two days, bind them into bundles about the size of sheaves of oats. This stripping the blades off the stalks we called "pulling fodder," and it was a tedious process in which both hands were used nearly at the same time.

The work did not require close attention, but close application, and two or three persons frequently worked along together, stripping off the blades and gossiping about matters of common interest. When the blades had been dried and cured, the binders came along and gathered up the handfuls of fodder between the stalks and bound them into bundles, which were carried to the ends of the corn rows to be hauled away in wagons to be stacked or placed in the barn loft. As the bundles were bound with a few blades of fodder, we did not commence the work of binding until the evening dew

had softened the dry, brittle blades sufficiently to hold without breaking when the ends had been brought together and twisted and turned under, forming a kind of knot. The odor of the dried fodder we bound during the evenings of the harvest moon was like an exquisite bouquet.

This blade fodder was intended mostly for the work horses; we cut and put up in shocks what we called corn fodder for feeding our cattle in the winter, the stalks being cut with the green blades and corn on them. We used in cutting and putting up this corn fodder a corn knife somewhat like a sword bayonet, and every soldier boy from the farm would have declared that the sword bayonet would have made a good corn knife, and after the war many sword bayonets were used for corn knives, having been purchased for a few cents at some of the Government sales of public property at the close of the war.

The stalks and fodder on them were well cured in the shock, and as the stalk retained the sweetness in the greater part of it, they made excellent feed for cattle in the winter.

Before hauling up this shock fodder, as it was called, for feed, the corn was pulled off it and shucked. In some instances the farmer cut off the stalks with the green blades on them above the ears and shocked them, which made a saving in time when it came to hauling up the shocks for feed in the winter.

The nights were now longer than the days; the evenings were cooler and a little fire in the fire-place was comfortable; the children over ten years of age had started to school, and the wise men of the neighborhood prophesied from the goose-bone, the thickness of the furs on the animals, or the thickness of the corn shucks on the ears, whether the approaching winter would be mild or severe.

Frost had come following a storm and a cold blast from the north, biting the pumpkin and sweet potato vines, turning them black and causing them to fall flat on the ground. All weeds and tender grasses, pokes and elders along the fences, were bitten and the leaves turned black, and the leaves of the forest trees were turned every conceivable color

of the spectrum, golden, yellow and russet, giving the landscape a beauty no artist could describe. And with all this wealth of color and beauty, the air was bracing, giving life a buoyancy that had long been in abeyance from the oppressive heat of the summer.

Closely following the storm and the first cold blasts from the north, the migrations of many varieties of birds, wild geese, crane and wild ducks were observed. These migrations sometimes lasted several weeks, and on passing through the woods and thickets one might see dozens of several varieties of birds, to find on passing through the same woods and thickets on another day, that they had all left.

Wild ducks were frequently there nearly all winter, alighting in the fields, and on the ponds and still waters of the creeks, and were hunted by sportsmen, who brought many to their homes and to the markets in town. We also had the prairie chicken, which, like the quail, was not migratory, but nested and raised its young in the wild prairie grass of that section, and was next in importance to the wild turkey, as a wild game of the feathered tribe. This was the season when the prairie chicken commenced to appear in flocks of hundreds about the corn fields. They were caught by the farmers in traps, sometimes by dozens, and used as a part of the food menu, their meat almost rivaling that of the quail, with us the most delicious of all birds.

When spring came the prairie chickens separated into small groups, and later into pairs, and it was interesting to watch them during the courting season, when a group of half a dozen might be seen from early morning, on a bare gopher mound, performing many amusing antics. We could sometimes get close to them and then one would see two or three males, but one at a time, strutting and dragging his wings on the ground making a kind of low drumming sound, which we supposed was made with the wing feathers, somewhat after the fashion of the bow of a fiddle drawn over the strings.

It was a handsome fowl, speckled, brown plumage, mottled with darker shades to match the different shades of dry grass, and its form and color were probably elements of at-

tractiveness to the female as well as its strutting movements and the sounds produced by its wings.

The prairie chicken, so abundant in western Missouri and eastern Kansas up to the war, after that period gradually disappeared from that region almost entirely.

Most of the month of October was generally good weather, with bright, pleasant days extending through November, when grown folks and young liked to wander in the woods, gathering nuts, wild grapes, paw-paws and persimmons.

These wild nuts and fruits were abundant nearly every year and made a wholesome variation in the family menu of those who liked it, and a pleasant pastime in gathering them. The paw-paws and persimmons might be eaten any time after a heavy frost and freezing, and they were considered delicious to the taste by some and indifferent to others; but they could not be kept for future use more than a few weeks.

When undisturbed by birds or 'possums, persimmons did not fall off the tree for a month or more, after the leaves had fallen, but paw-paws being much heavier, might be shaken off by the wind in a much less time. We often found the paw-paw trees in small groves and scattered singly, mingled with the shrubs and trees along the streams, while the persimmon trees were found in small groves and singly in open spaces, sometimes along the fences and on ground inclined to dampness. Both of these fruits were probably used as food by the native races of this country, and are doubtless susceptible of improvement like other fruits that have been domesticated; but as yet no well-defined efforts have been made in that direction.

There has been a gradual decrease in hickory nuts, walnuts and hazlenuts, due to the increasing cultivation of the land on which they grew, except in the case of walnut, which has decreased in stumpage on account of the increasing demand for it for manufacturing into sewing machines, fine office furniture and gunstocks.

We had no better use for this valuable timber up to the war, than gathering the walnuts from the bearing trees, and cutting them down and into lengths for splitting into rails

for fences, and hauling a few logs to the sawmill to be sawed into lumber for flooring and other purposes. In many instances large trees were cut down and split into rails, that later would have been worth a hundred dollars for shipment to foreign countries. Even walnut stumps and the main roots, have been eagerly bought up and sawed into pieces suitable for inlaying and trimming of fine furniture and tables and sewing machines, the pieces when highly finished being known as "curly walnut."

MISSOURIANS ABROAD—NO. 9.

GLENN FRANK.

By George F. Thomson.

In the spring of 1919 I stopped off for a day in Boston on my way home from overseas, and went first to No. 24 Milk Street, where before the war I had been an office companion of Glenn Frank. The elevator man said Mr. Frank had moved away, but he didn't know where he had gone. Then I walked down to Edward A. Filene's office, and inquired there.

"Yes, Mr. Frank has left Boston," I was told. "He has gone to New York to become an associate editor of *The Century*. A big chance and doubtless he will become editor very soon."

I agreed that the latter prophecy would come true, and it has. On May 1 of this year Glenn Frank, late of Greentop, Missouri, later of Chicago, and latest of Boston and New York, assumed the direction of one of the oldest and most distinguished monthly magazines in America. On that day he stepped into the rich editorial heritage of Dr. J. G. Holland, co-founder and first editor, of Richardson Watson Gilder, and of Robert Underwood Johnson, our recent ambassador to Italy. A worthy company, and thrice worthy successor!

To begin at the beginning (and there's little better place), Glenn Frank was born in Queen City, Missouri, October 1, 1887, the son of Gordon and Nancy Elizabeth (Hombs) Frank. Two brothers, William and Claude, both of whom now live in Kirksville, had appeared on the scene earlier, so the Frank parents had plenty to do to keep peace and plenty in the family. This they did with great success.

Mr. Frank, senior, was a school-teacher and served for forty years without missing a single term, a record which will challenge comparison, not only in Missouri, but in many



GLENN FRANK.



States. He was also commissioner of schools for Schuyler County for a number of years.

It is interesting to note that for several generations the male members of the Frank family have been school-teachers. Glenn's brothers both served an apprenticeship in the schools, but left the classroom to become a lawyer and a merchant, respectively. Glenn says he substituted for his father in the district school at Maple Grove, Missouri, one day and got woefully "stuck" trying to solve a problem in mathematics. Quite likely his failure here meant his success later, for if he had made an acceptable instructor, he might easily have followed the well-worn path of his family, a noble and unselfish service, but hardly one of the scope he now occupies.

Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Frank are now enjoying a care-free and comfortable time in Greentop, where they are domiciled in a handsome and well-appointed bungalow, designed by their son, Glenn, and built by imported labor from Kirksville after the Greentop carpenters had refused to put on clapboards in a new style.

Glenn Frank did his college preparatory work at Kirksville State Normal school, under that dynamic schoolman, Dr. John R. Kirk, and then entered Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois. He was graduated from there in 1912 with the degree of bachelor of arts. During summer vacations he lectured on different Chautauqua circuits, improving his finances and reputation as a public speaker all the while. In college he was a good student and an active participant in college affairs. In his senior year he edited *The Northwestern Magazine*, took the chief oratorical prizes, and was one of the student speakers at commencement exercises. It may be inserted here that last June, only nine years after graduation, he was asked again to be the commencement speaker, and his Alma Mater honored him with the degree of master of arts.

On the day of his graduation President Abram W. Harris invited Mr. Frank to become his assistant, and devote his time to the editing of *The Alumni Journal* and the organization of the alumni body of the university. For four years

Mr. Frank did this, lecturing all the while on important public problems and taking a keen and active interest in the affairs of the city of Chicago. His several trips with trade tours of the Chicago Association of Commerce, until he finally became its chief spokesman, brought him into contact with Edward A. Filene, the Boston merchant, and in 1916 Mr. Frank came to Boston and New York, where in association with Mr. Filene he identified himself very promptly with a number of public enterprises, the chief being the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the League to Enforce Peace. He was a member of the group, headed by William Howard Taft, that drafted a covenant for the League of Nations, which was considered in Paris. During the busy months of the war he was engaged in speaking and writing, and in 1918, in collaboration with Lothrop Stoddard, he brought out "The Stakes of the War," a profound study of underlying causes of the war and a detailed presentation of the facts involved in the racial and territorial problems that would be involved in the settlement of peace. Mr. Frank has also written "The Politics of Industry," and has published various studies on the economic phases of the peace in *The Century Magazine*. He is now conducting a regular department in the magazine under the title of "The Tide of Affairs," and here are to be found some of the most incisive and illuminating comments between the brown covers of *The Century*.

To turn back to a more personal phase, let me record that on June 2, 1917, Mr. Frank married Mary Smith, daughter of the late Ambrose Henry Flood Smith of St. Louis. The ceremony was performed by the senior bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Rt. Rev. Daniel Sylvester Tuttle. Mr. and Mrs. Frank have resided both in Boston and in New York, and now are at home at 235 West 75th Street, New York. Mr. Frank is head of *The Century* editorial offices, but at home his supremacy is disputed by Glenn Frank, Jr., whose one regret, as he adds years to his youthful wisdom, is that he was not born in Missouri. The State, however, will doubtless be pleased to claim him as a godson, and trans-

mit to him those qualities of generosity, kindly outlook on life, and a rich sense of humor that are so often found in the sons of Missouri, and are combined in such abundance in the subject of this meagre sketch, Glenn Frank.

THE MISSOURI AND MISSISSIPPI RAILROAD DEBT.

By E. M. Violette.

THIRD ARTICLE.

SETTLEMENT OF THE DEBT (CONCLUDED).

MACON COUNTY.

In Macon County the resistance to the settlement of her indebtedness was more bitter and prolonged than that in Knox County. As a result it was not until 1911, nearly twenty years after Knox County gave up the struggle, that the people of Macon County were induced to yield in their opposition and adopt a plan for settling their debt.

Macon County began very early to put obstacles in the way of the bondholders. Her first move was to resist their efforts to compel the Macon County court to levy a special tax, in addition to the one of 1/20 of 1% provided for by the charter of the railroad company, in order that there might be adequate funds for the liquidation of the bonds as they fell due. Aull and Pollard, it will be recalled, instituted suit in the Macon County circuit court to that end in 1871, but they were defeated not only in that court but also in the Supreme Court of Missouri. The county therefore won in the first round with the bondholders.

The second effort at resistance on the part of the county was in connection with the Watkins case. Watkins, it will also be recalled, tried to get the Macon County court to issue him a warrant in January, 1878, on the common fund of the county in behalf of the judgment that had been given in the Macon County circuit court on his bonds. On being refused he applied for a writ of mandamus against the county court, but failed in both the Macon County circuit court and the Supreme Court of Missouri, notwithstanding the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the famous Johnston case from Clark County which made the common fund of

the county liable for the payment of the bonds in so far as the tax of 1/20 of 1% was insufficient.

It is not known what further steps Watkins took in the prosecution of his claims. But in a short time three other bondholders, Stratton, Huidekoper and Huidekoper, instituted suits in the United States Circuit Court against Macon County and obtained judgments, Stratton being awarded \$2,210, Alfred Huidekoper, \$6,642, and Fred Huidekoper, \$17,774.²¹³ They then applied to the Macon County court on April 9, 1878, for warrants on the common fund of the county in satisfaction of their judgments. They were refused.²¹⁴ With this refusal the authorities of Macon County made it clear that they had fully decided that they would not pay for her bonds.

The next move was made by Alfred Huidekoper. In October, 1878, he instituted suit in the United States Circuit Court for a mandamus to compel the Macon County court to levy a special tax in addition to the 1/20 of 1% to meet her bonds. This question had been fought out in the state courts of Missouri in the Aull and Pollard case, but it had not been dealt with in the federal courts. Huidekoper therefore decided to see what would be the attitude of these courts on this point. The United States Circuit Court declined to grant him the writ of mandamus prayed for.²¹⁵ He then appealed to the United States Supreme Court. In the March term, 1879, that court sustained the circuit court on the ground that every purchaser of a municipal bond is chargeable with the notice of the statute under which it was issued, and that if the municipality had no power either by express grant or by implication to raise money by taxation to pay the bonds, then the bondholder could not require. The court further said that it had no power to mandamus a municipal corporation to levy a tax which the law does not authorize, and that a judgment does not give a creditor any right to

²¹³*Macon County Records*, G, 52.

²¹⁴*Ibid.*, G, 52.

²¹⁵ 99 U. S. Reports, 389. *Macon County Times*, Nov. 13, 1885.

levy taxes which he did not have before the judgment.²¹⁶ In this decision the Supreme Court of the United States put itself in full accord with the one rendered by the Supreme Court of Missouri in the Aull and Pollard case. Thereafter there was no hope for the bondholder to get a special tax in addition to the 1/20 of 1% for the payment of his bonds.

Stratton and the Huidekopers then asked the United States Supreme Court for peremptory mandamuses against the Macon County court ordering it to issue to them warrants on the general or common fund of the county for the full amounts of their judgments. The request was granted at once,²¹⁷ and on August 28, 1879, the Macon County court complied as ordered.²¹⁸

Now that the highest court of the realm had decided that the general fund of the county was subject to the liquidation of the judgments of the bondholders and had moreover forced the issuing of warrants on that fund, the Macon County court raised the question as to whether the special tax of 1/20 of 1% should continue to be levied. Accordingly they submitted the question to Judge Andrew Ellison, judge of the Macon County circuit court, on May 10, 1879,²¹⁹ and in due time he replied that the county court should continue to make the levy just as it had done before.²²⁰ This levy continued to be made every year thereafter until the debt was compromised in 1911.

Under the circumstances that have just been related the first definite efforts were made towards getting the Macon County railroad debt compromised. The county court seems to have taken the lead in the matter. In March, 1878, it asked the voters to meet at their usual polling places on

²¹⁶ 99 U. S. Reports, 589-591. *Edina Sentinel*, May 29, 1879.

²¹⁷ 99 U. S. Reports, 592.

²¹⁸ *Macon County Records*, G, 346-349. On Sept. 4, 1879, these same men demanded of the county court that warrants be granted them on the Mississippi railroad fund in lieu of the warrants that had been issued to them on the general fund on August 28, and the court complied. As to why this request was made, it is not clear. See *Macon County Records*, G, 366.

²¹⁹ *Macon County Records*, G, 307-308.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, G, 381.

June 1 and express themselves on the proposition as to whether the county should compromise and take up her Missouri and Mississippi railroad debt upon the lowest terms possible, provided that the same could be done thru the issuing of 6% 20-year bonds and the creation of a new debt in lieu thereof, not exceeding \$175,000. The court expressly declared that it had no authority to order an election and hence had no money with which to pay the expenses that would be incurred in holding one. But the court desired to know the sentiments of the people and it therefore appealed to the citizens to respond to the call and express themselves. At the time the amount of the outstanding bonded indebtedness was \$428,035, of which \$316,400 represented the principal and \$111,635 the interest. Of the principal, \$65,900 was past due and \$18,500 was to fall due in 1879.²²¹ One can see from this statement that the proposition was for a 25-cent compromise.

Later the court, realizing that the proposition would be defeated, withdrew it and asked the voters to indicate on their ballots at what per cent they would favor compromising the debt.²²²

It is doubtful as to whether this election was ever held. No returns are mentioned in either the county papers or the county court records.

In the next year, however, a proposition was actually voted on by the people. A petition signed by fifty citizens was filed with the county court asking for the submission of a proposition to compromise the debt at the rate of 20 cents on the dollar. The county court complied and set the date of the election on November 28, 1879.²²³ It was noted by the county court at the time that the balance unpaid amounted to \$312,650 and that the accrued interest amounted to \$172,073, making a total of \$484,723, and that if this proposition carried the whole debt would be canceled for \$96,944.²²⁴

²²¹Macon County Records, G, 45-46. *Macon County Republican*, March 21, 1879.

²²²Macon County Records, G, 86-88.

²²³*Ibid.*, G, 381-383.

²²⁴*Ibid.*, G, 381-383.

The proposition failed to carry by an overwhelming majority, only 128 votes being cast for it and 1,278 against.²²⁵ Doubtless many people in Macon County felt about the matter as one man did who was reported as having said: "I would like to help hang every Macon County bondholder, and while we have the ropes handy I would not object to swinging up a few of the fellows who are in favor of compromising with them."²²⁶ Many years elapsed before any sort of a proposition to compromise was submitted to the people again.

The temper of the county court with reference to the bondholders was exhibited in an incident arising out of another judgment that Alfred Huidekoper obtained for \$28,032 in the United States Circuit Court. He presented his judgment to the Macon County court on March 3, 1880, and asked for a warrant on the common fund, but was given one on the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad fund instead.²²⁷ It was not until Huidekoper got a writ of mandamus from the United States Circuit Court that he could get the county court to issue him a warrant on the common fund of the county.²²⁸ Evidently the county court knew that it would have to issue the warrant on the common fund ultimately and refused to do so at first just to tantalize and annoy the bondholder. The inadequacy of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad fund to meet Huidekoper's judgment may be seen from the report of the county treasurer of Macon County for 1879. During that year he received \$3,308.03 in that fund and expended \$2,505.86, leaving a balance of only \$800.17.

During the next four years other bondholders brought suits against the county in the United States Circuit Court and, of course, obtained judgments. The year 1884 was marked by the issuance of a large number of warrants on the common fund in compliance with writs of mandamus from

²²⁵*Macon Times-Democrat*, Dec. 29, 1904. The county records do not contain any record of the vote.

²²⁶*Macon Republican*, Jan. 12, 1888.

²²⁷*Macon County Records*, G, 460-461.

²²⁸*Ibid.*, G, 480.

the United States Circuit Court. Twelve warrants amounting over \$150,000 were issued in April of that year.²²⁹ The largest was "warrant number two" and was issued to Alfred Huidekoper.²³⁰ We shall hear a great deal about this particular warrant later.

A new turn was given to the situation in 1887 when Huidekoper undertook to force the treasurer of Macon County to pay him what he claimed as his pro rata share of the surplus in the general fund of the treasury.²³¹ It appears that at that time there was a little over \$14,000 surplus in that fund. There were also outstanding warrants against that fund held by bondholders amounting to \$187,000. These warrants had been registered as required by law when their payment had been refused on account of the lack of funds. All of them had been registered at the same time in 1884 except one for \$7,000 which had been registered at an earlier date. According to law such warrants were to be paid in the order of their registration. The county treasurer had, therefore, taken the attitude that since warrants to the amount of \$180,000 had been registered at one time, he could not pay any one of them until there had accumulated in the county treasury a sum sufficient to pay them all at once. To this Huidekoper took exception and sought to get relief thru the courts.

Moreover, it appears that the county court had been levying only thirty cents on the \$100 for general revenue purposes instead of fifty cents as the law permitted it to do. The court had justified itself in this matter on the ground that the townships of the county were levying twenty cents and that the money thus realized from the township levy was for county purposes. To this procedure Huidekoper took exception and asked that the county court be compelled to

²²⁹*Ibid.*, H, 620.

²³⁰The warrants were issued as follows: to Alfred Huidekoper, \$35,667; to John H. Daniels, \$14,447; to W. P. Smith, \$15,786; to Alexander H. Meade, \$12,520; to Isaac Thrasher, \$23,549; to Thomas W. White, \$3,914; to George F. Hicks, \$3,868; to Charles W. Jocelyn, \$3,190; to May L. Smith, \$8,531 and \$4,687; to Robert E. Day, \$22,096 and to J. H. Andrews, \$3,935.

²³¹75 *Federal Reports*, 259.

make the full levy of fifty cents so that more money would come into the general fund of the county.²³²

The United States Circuit Court rendered a decision in favor of Huidekoper²³³ and ordered the county treasurer to pay him his pro rata share of the surplus in the general fund of the county treasury and to do so again whenever a reasonable amount had accumulated there. It also ordered the county court to make a full levy of fifty cents on the \$100, dismissing as invalid the plea of the county that the township levy of twenty cents was really for county purposes and that, therefore, the county was actually levying fifty cents. This decision was affirmed in the United States Supreme Court on March 17, 1890.²³⁴ How the first part of the decision was evaded will be brought out later.

Meanwhile another effort was made to foil the bondholders thru what was known as the Hudson-Trammel case. On April 20, 1886, a man by the name of Hudson presented to Trammel, the county treasurer, a warrant for \$10 drawn upon the contingent fund of the county which, according to the law of 1879,²³⁵ was one of the five divisions into which the general fund of the county had been divided. He was refused payment by the treasurer on the ground that the money available in the treasury should be applied first on the warrants of the bondholders that had been issued and registered prior to the issuance of his warrant. This was in keeping with the decisions of the United States courts. Hudson claimed, however, that warrants like his for the ordinary expenses of the county should take precedents of the warrants of the bondholders, else there would be nothing left in the treasury to maintain the county government. He, therefore, brought suit in the Macon County circuit court and obtained a mandamus against the county treasurer ordering the payment of his warrant. The treasurer appealed to the Supreme Court of Missouri. That court, at the October

²³²*Ibid.*, 259.

²³³*Ibid.*, 259-260. *Macon Republican*, Apr. 28, 1897.

²³⁴124 U. S. Reports, 322-337.

²³⁵*Revised Statutes of Missouri*, 1879, 6818-6820.

term, 1891, reversed the decision of the Macon County circuit court. In its decision the Supreme Court of Missouri, however, took occasion to repeat what it had said in former decisions that the only fund applicable to the payment of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad bonds was the one raised by the levy of 1/20 of 1%, but that since the United States Supreme Court had taken a contrary view there was nothing else to do but submit to the opinion of that court.²³⁶

By this time the question of compromising the debt had been taken up again in the county and some agitation was being carried on. For several years after the failure to carry a compromise proposition in 1879, the subject appears to have been dropped completely. But in 1883 suggestions began to appear in the newspapers to the effect that it would be well for the county to compromise her indebtedness,²³⁷ and in 1884 the *Macon Republican* ran a series of articles for some months in which the history of the indebtedness was reviewed in detail and arguments in favor of compromise were elaborately set forth.²³⁸ Several articles also appeared in 1885 in the same paper.²³⁹ But all this agitation seemed to have had little or no effect upon the people. There was the same defiance of spirit towards the bondholders and the same suspicion towards those who advocated compromise as there had been in earlier times. Anyone who favored compromise and worked for it was likely to be suspected of having some of the bonds in his possession and to be held, therefore, in high contempt. It is too much to say that the decision in the Huidekoper case in 1887 and the subsequent affirmance of that decision by the United States Supreme Court in 1890 changed the situation very much, but it is safe to say that these actions gave those who dared to favor compromising the debt an opportunity to push their views somewhat more effectively. The editors of the *Macon Republican* took advantage of the situation and in a lengthy

²³⁶106 Mo. Reports, 510-521.

²³⁷Files of *Macon Republican* and *LaPlata Home Press* for 1883.

²³⁸*Macon Republican*, Apr. 17, 24, May 8, Aug. 7 and Sept. 4, 1884.

²³⁹*Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 17, 24, Oct. 11, 25, 1885.

article urged the people to agree to some sort of a compromise proposition and thus rid the county of her great incubus.²⁴⁰

At least enough sentiment had been aroused in the matter to induce the county court to call a county convention to discuss the situation. The court asked the people to meet in township meetings and elect two delegates from each township to attend this convention. Seventeen of the twenty-four townships were represented when the convention convened on November 7, 1887. A great deal of debating was indulged in, several persons speaking in favor of compromising. The convention, however, decided not to undertake a compromise effort but to instruct the county court to employ competent counsel to assist in the defense of the cases then pending and in suits that might yet be brought.²⁴¹ In taking this action the meeting showed very plainly that as yet the people were not in any notion of giving up the fight with the bondholders.

It was not until 1894 that it was deemed advisable to submit a proposition to the people. In that year it will be recalled, Knox County had carried a compromise proposition, thus leaving Macon County as the only county that had not yet settled her Missouri and Mississippi Railroad indebtedness. Special efforts were, therefore, put forth by the bondholders themselves to interest the people of Macon County in effecting a settlement. Representatives of the bondholders began to visit the county and hold interviews with the people. Among these men were D. A. Kinder of Litchfield, Illinois, and General John B. Henderson of Washington, D. C. Henderson dropped remarks around rather freely about the bondholders being willing to settle at 58¾ cents on the dollar.²⁴² Finally, the county court, in response to a petition from 215 resident taxpayers of the county, called a special election on December 15, 1894, for the purpose of having the people vote on the proposition to compromise the

²⁴⁰*Ibid.*, June 2, 1887.

²⁴¹*Ibid.*, Oct. 6 and Nov. 10, 1887.

²⁴²*Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1894.

debt at 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents on the dollar, payable in new Macon County bonds running for twenty years at 5%.²⁴³ The indebtedness at that time amounted to \$1,100,000. If compromised at the rate proposed, it would be reduced to less than \$600,000.

A great deal of opposition to the proposition developed. The county court led off in this opposition by writing a letter to the public giving their reasons for their attitude.²⁴⁴ Even the *Macon Republican*, which had been strongly advocating a compromise, came out against this proposition.²⁴⁵ The *Macon Democrat* was also vigorously opposed to it.²⁴⁶ The efforts on the part of the bondholders thru their representatives to work up sentiment in the county in favor of the compromise was very offensive to the people and operated powerfully against the proposition.²⁴⁷ The proposition was, therefore, defeated almost unanimously, only 67 votes being cast for it and 5,020 against.²⁴⁸

Evidently the people of Macon County were as yet in no mood to consider any scheme to compromise, and several years passed before any one undertook to raise the question again. In 1900 an effort was made by the Hudson-Gary Land Company of Macon to get the matter again before the people, and on September 3 they presented to the county court for its consideration a plan which they had worked out. They proposed to procure the legal discharge of Macon County for further liability on all Missouri and Mississippi Railroad bond judgments and warrants outstanding for \$275,000. As the total railroad indebtedness of the county at that time was \$1,500,000, this proposition was to compromise at 18 cents on the dollar.²⁴⁹ The county court, reflecting the sentiment of the majority of the people, refused to have anything to do with the proposition.²⁵⁰

²⁴³*Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1894. *Macon County Records*, L. 590.

²⁴⁴*Macon Republican*, Nov. 16, 1894.

²⁴⁵*Ibid.*, Nov. 23 and 30, 1894.

²⁴⁶*Macon Democrat*, Nov. 30, 1894.

²⁴⁷*Ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1894.

²⁴⁸*Macon County Records*, L. 638. *Macon Republican*, Dec. 21, 1894.

²⁴⁹*Macon Republican*, Sept. 7, 1900.

²⁵⁰*Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1900, and Dec. 10, 1904.

Meanwhile the bondholders made a move to procure relief by way of congressional legislation. A bill was introduced into the lower house of Congress by Representative Pearce of St. Louis which provided that whenever any money judgment rendered by any court of the United States against any municipal corporation should remain unsatisfied for three years, or whenever a peremptory writ of mandamus issued for the purpose of securing the payment of such judgment by the collection of a tax or otherwise should remain unenforced for one year after the service of the writ, the court should appoint a commissioner to assess, levy and collect a tax to pay the debt, and that the tax should be levied and collected on and from persons and property within the territorial limits of the corporation pursuant to the laws of the state concerning taxation.²⁵¹

In December, 1900, John H. Overall and Thomas K. Skinker of St. Louis appeared before the house committee on the judiciary in behalf of the bondholders and argued for the passage of the bill.²⁵² The bill was never reported from the committee, however, altho it appeared to the representatives of the bondholders that a majority of the committee seemed favorable.²⁵³ The bill was introduced a second time into the House, but it never got any further than the committee stage.²⁵⁴

This move on the part of the bondholders to procure legislative intervention on the part of Congress alarmed some people very much, as they felt that this might be the very means of obtaining for the bondholders complete satisfaction of all their claims. Robert H. Kern of St. Louis, but formerly of Macon, at once wrote a strong letter to the editor of the *Macon Republican* urging the people of Macon County to use all the means to prevent the passage of the bill and at the same time advising the people to compromise with the bondholders while there was yet time.²⁵⁵ As the bill did not

²⁵¹*Macon Republican*, Dec. 21, 1900.

²⁵²*Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1900.

²⁵³From a conversation with Mr. Skinker on June 7, 1920.

²⁵⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵⁵*Macon Republican*, Dec. 28, 1900.

get beyond the committee stage in Congress, the people of Macon County did not appear to worry very much over the matter.

Four years later, however, the county court decided that it would be well to give some consideration to the Hudson-Gary plan that had been submitted to it in 1900. It therefore called a special session of the county court for November 29, 1904, and invited all persons interested in compromising the bonded indebtedness of the county to attend.²⁵⁶ When the special session convened a petition signed by 500 resident taxpayers of the county was presented to the court asking that a proposition be submitted to the voters on December 30, 1904, providing for the compromise of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad debt at 18 cents on the dollar under the following terms and conditions:²⁵⁷

1) If the people should vote to compromise, then the county court should call a mass meeting of the citizens of the county at the courthouse and this meeting should select a committee of three to seven men who favored the compromise to assist the county court in carrying out the proposition. This committee of citizens should continue until the final settlement of the debt.

2) No compromise should be entered into by the county court and the committee of citizens with any bondholder for any part of the debt of the county until an amount equal to 90 per cent of all the debt of the county should have been deposited with the Mercantile Trust Company of St. Louis with a contract to settle under the terms of the compromise proposition.

3) Unless the entire amount of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad debt be deposited, the county court and the committee were to leave unpaid at least \$100,000 of the 90 per cent deposited, this amount to be placed in escrow in a Macon bank.

4) As long as any part of the debt remains unpaid, the levy of 1-20 of 1 per cent should continue to be levied and collected.

5) No part of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad debt should ever be settled at more than 18 cents on the dollar and no part should ever be settled at that rate as long as over 1 per cent of the debt due on December 31, 1904, stood out unsettled.

6) The debt was to be compromised by issuing new Macon County bonds running for twenty years at 4 per cent interest. The

²⁵⁶*Macon County Records, Q, 258.*

²⁵⁷*Macon County Records, Q, 260-268.*

interest on the old debt was to be computed up to December 31, 1904.

7) All claims not filed with the Mercantile Trust Company within six months should be debarred from receiving any interest after December 31, 1904, in any further settlement.

Those who favored this plan for compromising the debt, which was far better than any former proposition, formed an organization for the purpose of carrying on a campaign of education among the people.²⁵⁸ They realized that the prejudice and misunderstanding of many years would have to be overcome if the plan was carried, and they made every effort to accomplish that end. Mass meetings were held in all parts of the county at which the speakers urged the people to vote for the compromise proposition²⁵⁹ and numerous articles appeared in the newspapers of the county to the same effect.²⁶⁰ The leaders of those favoring the compromise were Theodore Gary, who had originated the plan and who acted as chairman of the executive committee during the campaign,²⁶¹ and the lawyers of Macon, Ben Ely Guthrie, B. R. Dysart, R. G. Mitchell, John A. White, Ben Franklin, S. G. Brock, and Web W. Rubey, some of whom had been bitter opponents of the plan to compromise in 1894. These lawyers came out in an address to the people urging them to vote for the proposed compromise. In that address they said:²⁶²

"It is our judgment that it will be for the best interests of the county to adopt the compromise on the M. and M. debt. We offer no reasons or arguments for this opinion. The county has already paid out in fees to lawyers in the litigation caused by this debt at least \$20,000 and in court costs at least as much more.

"If this debt is not now compromised and new suits are brought, as we have good reason to believe will be, the county will have to pay large additional fees to attorneys. We have no con-

²⁵⁸*Macon Republican*, Dec. 10, 1904.

²⁵⁹*Ibid.*, Dec. 10 and 17, 1904. *Macon Times-Democrat*, Nov. 23 and Dec. 15 and 22, 1904.

²⁶⁰The files of the *Macon Republican* and the *Macon Times-Democrat* for November and December, 1904.

²⁶¹*Macon Republican*, Nov. 26, 1904.

²⁶²*Macon Times-Democrat*, Dec. 8, 1904. *Macon Republican*, Dec. 17, 1904.

tract or agreement of any kind with any bondholder or his representative or with any one else whereby we are to receive nor do we expect to receive any compensation for giving you this advice or for favoring the compromise. We therefore think you should credit us with giving you an honest, unselfish advice as your fellow citizens when we advise you to vote for the compromise."

Judge N. M. Shelton of the Macon County circuit court also came out strongly for the compromise.²⁶³ Ed McKee was also prominent among the supporters.²⁶⁴ The *Macon Republican* and the *Macon Times-Democrat* were vigorous in their support of the compromise, each one devoting many columns to the matter. The *Times-Democrat* published half page editorials on the front page in three issues during the month of December urging the people to vote for the proposition.²⁶⁵

The opposition, however, was not without strong and active leaders who used every means to keep the proposition from being carried. Probably the most active and effective of these leaders was N. M. Moody, the county clerk. He not only wrote numerous articles for the newspapers²⁶⁶ but he was active on the streets and in all other public places in denouncing the plan. Dr. J. T. Morris, Joseph Park, W. H. Sears, James Sparrow and John M. London were also alert in their opposition.²⁶⁷ They had much to say about Gary making a pile of money out of the compromise proposition if it carried and they took that as an additional reason for opposing the proposition.²⁶⁸

An effort was made to effect an organization to fight the proposition. On December 12 some of the citizens of Macon who were thus disposed met at the courthouse to decide what would be best to do. They concluded to call a mass meeting

²⁶³*Macon Times-Democrat*, Dec. 15, 1904. *Macon Republican*, Dec. 17, 1904.

²⁶⁴*Macon Times Democrat*, Dec. 8 and 22, 1904.

²⁶⁵*Macon Times-Democrat* files for Dec. 1904.

²⁶⁶*Macon Times-Democrat*, Dec. 1, 1904. *Macon Republican*, Nov. 3, 1904.

²⁶⁷*Macon Times-Democrat*, Dec. 8 and 22, 1904. *LaPlata Home Press*, Dec. 22, 1904.

²⁶⁸*Macon Times-Democrat*, Dec. 8, 1904. Gary was reported as having said publicly that he expected the bondholders to pay him 5% of the amount of the compromise if it carried, but that he had no contract with them to that effect. See *Macon Times-Democrat*, Dec. 8, 1904.

of those who were like minded with them on December 20 to devise ways and means of getting before the people the facts pertaining to the matter. A committee, composed of Joseph Park, W. H. Sears, B. F. Stone, R. W. Barrow, James D. Sparrow and R. S. Matthews was appointed to make a brief of the legal status of the indebtedness and the litigation concerning the same, and another committee composed of Paul J. Burton, Charles Soldon, B. F. Stone, N. M. Moody, T. E. Wisdom and James G. Howe, was appointed to gather the facts as to the amount of the indebtedness outstanding, the amount outlawed by the statute of limitations, the names of the holders of the outlawed bonds, and various other matters pertaining to the proposition.²⁶⁹ It is not known whether the meeting scheduled for December 20 was ever held or not as no account of it appeared in the newspapers, but the first of the two committees mentioned above prepared an extensive protest against the proposition²⁷⁰ and published it in a sheet that was scattered widecast thruout the county. This sheet contained other articles against the proposition, among which was the famous "M. and M. Catechism" purporting to be what two farmers had to say to each other about the compromise.²⁷¹ This catechism was full of insinuations about certain advocates of the proposition, but it was so skillfully worded as to protect the writer against a libel suit. A supply of literature opposing the compromise was sent out thru the county superintendent of schools to the teachers with the request that it be distributed to the patrons thru the school children.²⁷² The *LaPlata Home Press*, while it did not express itself openly and published contributed articles on both sides, was thought to be against the proposition.²⁷³

One of the points raised by the opposition was the unlikelihood of the promoters of the compromise ever being able to get the bondholders to turn in 90% of the total indebted-

²⁶⁹*LaPlata Home Press*, Dec. 15, 1904.

²⁷⁰*Ibid.*, Dec. 22, 1904.

²⁷¹*Ibid.*, Dec. 22, 1904.

²⁷²*Macon Republican*, Dec. 24, 1904.

²⁷³*LaPlata Home Press* files for December, 1904.

ness to be liquidated at 18 cents, as the compromise proposition provided. That point was met by the emphatic statement that 90% of the debt had already been turned in.²⁷⁴

The opposition also declared that some Macon County people were holding \$100,000 of the surrendered bonds and were planning to make a big margin on them. But Web M. Rubey published a list of the bondholders and showed that not one of them lived in the county.²⁷⁵

It was not surprising that the proposition failed to carry. But it was surprising how many votes were cast for it. The returns showed that 2,397 persons voted for it and 2,729 against.²⁷⁶ The defeat was therefore taken by those favoring the compromise as a real victory. They saw that sentiment in favor of a compromise was growing rapidly. Whereas only 67 votes out of a sum total of 5,087 votes, or only a little over 1%, had been cast in favor of compromising the debt in 1894, 2,397 out of a total of 5,126, or over 46%, had been cast in favor of compromising in 1904. The people of Macon County most assuredly stood in their own light when they rejected this proposition in 1904. The terms offered them then were better than those that had been offered before and they proved to be better than those on which the debt was actually settled in 1911. But the heavy vote in favor of the proposition in 1904, altho insufficient to carry it, was a very encouraging sign. The day was past when it was unsafe for a man to advocate openly the compromising of the debt. It was only a matter of time when the question would be settled.

The bondholders evidently took the results of the election as a good sign also, for in 1908 Huidekoper wrote a letter to Robert Mitchell of Macon, one of the county's attorneys, offering in behalf of the bondholders to compromise on

²⁷⁴*Macon Times-Democrat*, Nov. 8, 1904. *Macon Republican*, Dec. 24, 1904. As a matter of fact, two of the bondholders named Hickman refused to consent to accept the terms of the compromise for the bonds that they held amounting to nearly \$100,000, and their refusal had much to do with defeating the proposition, according to Major B. R. Dymart. See *Macon Times-Democrat*, June 29, 1911.

²⁷⁵*Macon Republican*, Dec. 10, 1904.

²⁷⁶*Macon County Records*, Q, 526.

the basis of the same terms as had been submitted in 1904. Mr. Mitchell was at that time in declining health and died shortly after that, and hence nothing was ever done about the matter.²⁷⁷

The final stage in the history of the Macon County bonded indebtedness began with two proceedings instituted in the federal courts in 1909 by Arthur Huidekoper, descendant and assignee of Alfred Huidekoper, to whom, as we have already seen, "warrant number two" had been issued on the general fund of the county in 1884 for over \$35,000. Notwithstanding the fact that this warrant had been properly registered and that the original judgment upon which it had been issued had been revived in 1899 and again in 1909, it still remained unpaid. Huidekoper held other judgments against the county running up unto the hundreds of thousands of dollars,²⁷⁸ but they also had never been paid. Likewise, the other bondholders who had obtained warrants in satisfaction of their judgments in 1884 when Huidekoper had obtained "warrant number two" had fared no better than he. Thru certain methods employed in the administration of the finances of the county, which will be explained shortly, the county treasury had been without funds for many years prior to 1909 with which to pay Huidekoper's warrant or those held by other bondholders.²⁷⁹ It was therefore for the purpose of procuring the payment of these warrants that Huidekoper instituted these two suits in 1909.

The first of these suits was brought in the United States District Court against the board of equalization of Missouri and the county board of equalization of Macon County for the purpose of compelling these bodies to assess the property of Macon County at its full value according to law. The assessments were running very low in Macon County. The

²⁷⁷*LaPlata Home Press*, May 4, 1911, supplement.

²⁷⁸The total amount of Huidekoper's judgments against Macon County in January, 1911, according to a letter from his attorneys to the Macon County Court, was \$310,438.

²⁷⁹Report of the Special Master in Chancery Boulware in the case of Huidekoper vs. Edwards in the United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Missouri.

total assessed valuation of the county was only about \$10,000,000, which was about one-fourth of the actual valuation.²⁸⁰ As a result of this low assessment the amount of revenue raised by taxes in Macon County was entirely inadequate to meet the warrants that had been issued to the bondholders, even if this revenue had been turned into the county treasury where the bondholders might have gotten hold of it. The purpose of this suit was, therefore, to compel the state and county authorities to raise the assessed valuation of the property in Macon County and thus bring about an increase in the revenues of the county.

The position taken by the state board of equalization and the Macon County board of equalization thru their attorneys was that the United States District Court had no jurisdiction in the matter, and in August, 1909, Judge Dyer sustained this position and dismissed the suit.²⁸¹ An appeal was taken to the United States Circuit Court and there the decision of Judge Dyer was reversed and the case was sent back to the District Court to be tried on its merits.²⁸² Because of certain developments in connection with the other case, this one was not pushed any further.

The other case was one in equity instituted in the United States Circuit Court against the county court, the county clerk, the treasurer and the banks of Macon County for conspiracy to defraud the bondholders. Realizing that this was a case of more than ordinary character and that it would require searching investigation, the court appointed W. M. Boulware of Palmyra, Missouri, as special master in chancery to take the evidence in the case and to report to the court his findings as to the facts and his conclusions as to the law applicable thereto. Boulware went to Macon in October, 1909, and immediately began his investigations of the matter. A great host of witnesses, including officials of the county,

²⁸⁰*LaPlata Home Press*, July 15, 1909.

²⁸¹*LaPlata Home Press*, July 15, 1909.

²⁸²Article by Ben Eli Guthrie on the "M. and M. Bonds" in the last *Macon County History*.

past and present, and many private citizens, was examined.²³³ The records of the county were thoroly scrutinized. The evidence in the case when completed filled several bound volumes. The master filed his report with the court in March, 1910.²³⁴

The report reviewed at some length "the new and special fiscal scheme that had been devised and inaugurated and for many years persistently and systematically pursued" by the officials of the county. Under this scheme the county collector collected the county revenues, deposited them in the banks of the county and afterwards paid them out on county warrants presented to him. The warrants thus paid and taken up by the collector were turned over to the treasurer, when settlements were made between these two officers, as having been received by the collector from taxpayers in payment of taxes, and the collector was credited by the treasurer with the warrants thus turned over. Likewise, in his settlement with the county court, the collector was credited with the amount of the warrants, either as cash or as warrants received from taxpayers in payment of their taxes.²³⁵ Under such an administration as this the office of the county treasurer was practically eliminated, and for years not a dollar of the common fund revenue reached the treasury of the county. Moreover, the requirement of the law that warrants which had been registered because of a lack of funds to pay them when they were issued, should be paid in the order

²³³Among the witnesses introduced by the bondholders was a man by the name of Diggs who had been sent to Macon by the attorneys of Huidekoper some time before this case had been brought to carry on a quiet investigation concerning the manner in which the county was conducting its finances. He represented himself as an agent for Arkansas land which he wished to trade for M. and M. bonds. He also said he had angora goats to sell and he soon came to be known about town as the "Arkansas land and goat agent." He made the courthouse his headquarters and, of course, soon had complete information as to how the county was conducting its finances. It was not long, however, before his real mission was suspected. He probably did not add anything material to the evidence that the master obtained from county officials and citizens. (From a letter to the author from Charles E. Sears, county clerk of Macon County in 1909.)

²³⁴*Boulware's Report*, 1-2.

²³⁵*Boulware's Report*, 16-17.

of their registration, had also been set aside.²⁸⁶ The collector accepted, of course, only current warrants and never the warrants of bondholders, and to facilitate this procedure the county court had for years been accustomed to "split up" the warrants and issue a number of small ones from one dollar up on each account allowed.²⁸⁷

The reader will recognize the striking similarity between the methods pursued in Macon County and those followed in Knox County when that county was fighting the bondholders. Perhaps the system was somewhat more elaborately worked out in Macon than in Knox, but the principle was the same.

On this point the master concluded that the proceedings of the collector, the treasurer and the county court had been unlawful and had been pursued in concert for the purpose of defrauding the bondholders from collecting their just debts. At the same time he expressed his unwillingness to pass severe criticism upon either the people or their officials. The people, he said, had not understood the nature of the transaction, and believing that the indebtedness had been unjust in its inception, they had resisted its payment for over thirty years and this fiscal scheme had been but a part of their resistance. Altho the scheme was unlawful and wrongful, he would not judge harshly the officers thru whose agency it had been carried forward and executed.²⁸⁸

The report also dealt with the practice of the county court in erecting buildings²⁸⁹ and roads and bridges and keeping them in repair and paying for them out of the general fund of the county instead of levying special taxes for these purposes.²⁹⁰ The opinion of the master on this point was that the county court had acted illegally in pursuing this practice. He pointed out that the bondholder was entitled

²⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 17.

²⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 8.

²⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 21.

²⁸⁹In 1908 the county court purchased a lot and constructed thereon a jail building at a cost of \$25,000 and paid for the same out of the common funds of the county.

²⁹⁰*Boulware's Report*, 32-36.

to have his indebtedness charged upon the common fund free the abatement of road and bridge expenses, especially since an amendment to the Constitution of Missouri had been adopted in 1908 giving the county courts power to make a special levy for road and bridge purposes. Since the county court possessed this power, it had not authority to pay the expenses of roads and bridges out of the common fund under the claim that such payments were necessary county expenditures. As regards the erection of public buildings, the master held that since the county court was authorized to levy special taxes or issue bonds for such purposes, the expense ought not to be charged against the common fund if it prejudiced the interests of the bondholders.²⁹¹

In conclusion the master pointed out that by all the decisions of the courts, "the bonds constituted an indebtedness of the county and that such indebtedness was payable out of the common revenues of the county," and he expressed the hope that the people of Macon County would not fail to see that the courts would have to enforce the payment of this indebtedness in full. He suggested that the county compromise the indebtedness with the bondholders by issuing funding bonds, and gave it as his opinion that the county could carry a debt of \$500,000 or more and scarcely feel the burden.²⁹²

The court took the report of the master in chancery under advisement and on February 28, 1911, the case was argued in chambers before Judge E. E. Adams of the Circuit Court and Judge D. P. Dyer of the District Court. Apparently these judges were very much impressed with the validity of the conclusions of the master and decided to do all they could consistently to get the parties to the controversy to come to some sort of an agreement rather than render a decision themselves, which they knew would, perforce, be far-reaching and be adverse to the county in practically every particular. They therefore suggested at the conclusion of the arguments that a settlement of the debt would be much

²⁹¹*Ibid.*, 35-36.

²⁹²*Ibid.*, 49-51.

more satisfactory to them and to the parties in the controversy and they advised against any further litigation. They therefore asked that the attorneys for both sides meet them in St. Louis on April 10 for a further conference. At that conference the judges again urged that a compromise should be agreed upon. Discovering, however, that the parties were not apparently getting together, they expressed great regret and offered to do all that they could to facilitate a settlement. They suggested that the counsel of the various parties withdraw and enter into a conference with a view of trying to reach some basis of agreement. Nothing came of the conference. When the counsel for both sides appeared before the court again that afternoon and reported their inability to agree, the attorneys for Macon County proposed to submit the entire matter to the judges, pledging that they would recommend whatever award might be made by them to the people of the county and do all they could to get the people to accept this award at a special election. The members of Macon County court were present with the attorneys of the county when this proposition was made and agreed to all that was proposed. The counsel for the bondholders agreed to the proposition and promised to recommend to their clients the acceptance of the award.²⁰³

It was then agreed that the counsel for both sides would again appear before Adams and Dyer in St. Louis on April 22 to submit such data and present such facts as they might deem proper and calculated to assist the judges in arriving at a conclusion and a just basis of settlement. The meeting occurred according to arrangements, and for over an hour the counsel for both sides submitted their final arguments. Tatlow and Mitchell of Springfield represented Huidekoper, and Dysart, Guthrie and Franklin of Macon represented the county. The attorneys for Huidekoper claimed that the total amount of the railroad debt of the county was at that time \$2,150,000. Estimating that the real valuation of property in the county was at least \$33,000,000, three times its

²⁰³*Macon County Records, T, 150-163.*

assessed valuation, they figured that the real value of the debt was at least \$1,200,000, and they urged the court to make the award at that amount.²⁹⁴

The attorneys for the county pleaded for an award not to exceed \$500,000. They based their plea upon the following facts: In 1904 the bondholders had agreed to accept 18 cents on the dollar, and furthermore, they had renewed their offers in 1908. Had the proposition been accepted by the people in 1904 the debt would have been settled then for about \$300,000. The attorneys for the county contended, therefore, that \$300,000 represented what the bondholders conceived was the value of their bonds at that time. Since then something had happened to raise the value of the bonds; that is, the amendment to the state Constitution which authorized county courts to levy an extra 25-cent tax for roads and bridges. As this extra levy, if resorted to, would increase the amount available in the common fund, the value of the bonds would be increased just that much. The attorneys for the county thought that the increase would amount to about seven cents on the dollar and that, therefore, the proper compromise amount would be about 25 cents on the dollar, or about \$500,000. They pointed out that Boulware had suggested in his report to the court that \$500,000 or thereabouts would be a fair compromise amount, and they advanced that as an argument in their favor. Moreover, they said that the market value of the bonds was not over 25 cents on the dollar.²⁹⁵

At the close of the hearing the court adjourned for an hour and when it reconvened that afternoon Judge Adams announced that he and Judge Dyer had decided that the debt should be settled at \$750,000, or at about 35 cents on the dollar. This amount was about half way between what the contending parties had asked for.

In making the award Judge Adams said:²⁹⁶

²⁹⁴*LaPlata Home Press*, May 4, 1911, supplement.

²⁹⁵*Ibid.*, May 4, 1911, supplement.

²⁹⁶*Macon County Records*, T, 150-163.

"Gentlemen, we have experienced some of the same difficulties over this matter which you gentlemen found. But we have come to the conclusion which we will recommend. In stating it I will merely do so without giving the reasons or the figures which we employed to reach them. We think that the county of Macon ought to pay \$750,000 on this obligation. We think that it ought to be paid as of July 1 next. We think that a 5 per cent bond executed as of July 1 would be a bond on which the county might raise the money and probably have a surplus.

"The result of our deliberations that \$750,000 is the right sum is based upon the understanding that the debt is \$2,150,000. This is about 35 per cent. In coming to this conclusion we don't hesitate to say that we have taken into consideration not merely the justness of the debt, because if that were all it would be 100 cents on the dollar, but we have taken into consideration the fact that Macon County, like all counties, is composed of good citizens and indifferent citizens; those who have regard for the financial welfare and standing of the county and those who do not have.

"We have made this recommendation in the belief that even those who are indifferent in their views of the matter will deem it for the best interests of their county to support a proposition which will relieve them of the debt. We have taken that into consideration and believe it to be a fair subject of consideration."

Judge Dyer said that the bonds should be dated July 1, 1911, and that the election should be held at such a time as in the judgment of the county court and the attorneys would result in a full vote of the people and a full understanding of the matter in hand. He suggested that the election should take place within ninety days.

The award as made by the judges was promptly accepted by the counsel for both sides.²⁹⁷

On May 19, 1911, the attorneys for Macon County reported formally to the county court what had been done. By that time the terms of the award of the judges were generally known thruout the county, and active efforts had been made to crystallize sentiment in favor of accepting those terms. As a result a petition bearing the signatures of over 1,600 citizens of the county was submitted to the county court at the same time the attorneys made their report. In this petition the county court was asked to call a special election for the purpose of voting upon the proposition to refund

²⁹⁷*Ibid.*, T, 150-163.

the railroad debt by issuing new bonds for \$750,000 in accordance with the award of Judges Adams and Dyer. The court promptly ordered the election to be held on July 11, 1911.²⁹⁸

An active campaign was begun at once for the proposition. For the first time in the history of the efforts to get the debt settled those favoring the compromise took the aggressive and put the opponents on the defensive. The leaders among those favoring the compromise realized that the situation had grown to be desperate. They knew that the last door of hope that the county might in some way avoid paying the debt had been closed against them, and that if this compromise proposition was not accepted by the people the county would be forced to pay the entire debt. A systematic campaign of education was therefore undertaken and arrangements were made for gatherings in every schoolhouse in the county for the purpose of showing the people that it was greatly to their interest to adopt the proposition. Every newspaper in the county except the *Macon Daily Chronicle* advocated its adoption.²⁹⁹

One of the agencies that prepared the way for the success of these efforts to compromise was the Macon County Society. This society had been organized in 1908 by John T. Doneghy of Macon. The main purpose of the society was to develop a strong feeling of friendliness between the people of the town of Macon and the other parts of the county, and it was hoped that when this was accomplished the people would be willing to agree upon some plan of getting rid of their railroad debt. The society was not organized as a propaganda institution. It was altogether social. But Mr. Doneghy and others who joined with him in promoting it realized how valuable the spirit of co-operation that it would generate would be in advancing the interests of the county. Once a year the society held a dinner in Macon and within a year or two after it was organized as many as 600 men from

²⁹⁸*Ibid.*, T, 163-166.

²⁹⁹*LaPlata Home Press*, June 29, 1911. Files of the *Macon Daily Chronicle* for June and July, 1911.

all parts of the county were attending these annual dinners.³⁰⁰ The hope of the founder of the society was fully realized. A "get-together" spirit was quickly developed throughout the county thru this society, and by the time the compromise proposition of 1911 was submitted the county had been keyed up to a higher degree of unity than it had ever been before.

Opposition to the proposition, however, was by no means lacking and the leaders were not inactive. They organized speaking campaigns with John M. London and Joseph Park as the chief speakers.³⁰¹ They reprinted in the *Daily Chronicle* hand-bills that had been issued in 1894 against the compromise proposition of that year by men who were prominent advocates of the pending proposition.³⁰² They also resorted to inuendos about those who favored the compromise and openly charged the county court in unsigned newspaper articles with corruption.

In making charges of corruption against the county court the opponents of the compromise overshot the mark and got themselves into trouble. The county court appealed to Judge N. M. Shelton of the Macon County circuit court to investigate the charges and let the people know the truth about them. Judge Shelton promptly complied and summoned the grand jury and charged them in language that was strong and unmistakably clear to go to the very bottom of the matter and discover who had made the charges and on what grounds they were based. The grand jury did as they were instructed and soon found out from those who had published unsigned articles in the newspapers that they had made the charges without any foundation whatsoever. The findings of the jury were then published broadcast. Judge Shelton kept the grand jury in session during the rest of the campaign for the purpose of investigating any further rumors

³⁰⁰The Macon County Society continued to hold these annual dinners until 1917 when they were discontinued on account of the war.

³⁰¹*Daily Chronicle*, June 29, 1911.

³⁰²*Daily Chronicle*, June 29, 1911.

³⁰³From a letter from Judge Shelton and interviews with Dan R. Hughes and others of Macon.

of like nature that might arise.³⁰³ The promptness and vigor with which he acted in this matter had much to do with breaking down the opposition that was developing in the county against the compromise proposition. Inasmuch as the investigation fully vindicated the county court, no indictments for libel were brought in by the grand jury against those who made and circulated the charges of corruption.

As a result of the energetic efforts made by the champions of the compromise proposition, it was carried by an overwhelming majority, 3,649 votes being cast for it and only 798 against. Only two precincts voted against it, and, singularly enough, they were in the towns of Macon and Bevier. In two precincts a unanimous vote in favor of the proposition was cast, save one vote in each.³⁰⁴

At this point a tabulation of the returns by precincts for the elections of 1894, 1904 and 1911 is given for purposes of comparison.³⁰⁵

Precincts	1894 ³⁰⁶		1904 ³⁰⁷		1911 ³⁰⁸	
	For	Against	For	Against	For	Against
Middle Fork.....	2	115	40	99	56	85
Round Grove.....	6	157	93	62	113	28
Ten Mile.....	2	173	66	76	145	6
Jackson.....	0	140	66	71	118	5
Johnson.....	1	63	24	40	60	1
Narrows.....	1	192	103	93	135	30
Hudson Tp.....	3	150	65	101	104	47
Macon, First Ward...	3	159	157	79	145	37
Macon, Second Ward.	0	104	89	59	120	17
Macon, Third Ward..	4	152	114	104	73	43

³⁰³*Macon County Records, T, 192.*

³⁰⁴The election returns for 1879 have not been found and hence cannot be included in this tabulation.

³⁰⁵The official returns by precincts for 1894 were not made a matter of record in the county court records. Only the totals were recorded. See *Macon County Records, I, 638*. The returns for 1894 in this tabulation are unofficial and are taken from the *Macon Times, Dec. 21, 1894*. The totals of the official and the unofficial returns differ slightly. In the official returns the total vote stood 67 for and 5020 against, while in the unofficial returns it was 66 for and 4902 against.

³⁰⁶*Macon County Records, Q, 326*. The official returns by precincts were not recorded in the records but are to be found in an abstract of the vote on file in the county clerk's office. The unofficial returns given in the *Macon Republican Dec. 31, 1904*, vary considerably from the official returns.

³⁰⁷*Macon County Records, T, 192.*

<i>Precints</i>	<i>1894</i>		<i>1904</i>		<i>1911</i>	
	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>
Macon, Fourth Ward.	3	74	78	70	48	61
Eagle.....	1	118	69	72	115	14
Lyda.....	2	221	90	154	220	12
LaPlata Tp.....	12	314	46	75	137	3
LaPlata, First Ward..	0	0	59	56	136	1
LaPlata, Second Ward	0	0	52	62	123	7
East Chariton.....	3	132	36	104	58	32
West Chariton.....	0	159	38	80	65	17
Keota.....	0	0	90	47	87	14
North Bevier.....	3	194	33	69	68	44
Bevier, First Ward...	5	97	41	33	66	20
Bevier, Second Ward.	1	58	32	72	44	60
Bevier, Third Ward..	0	0	4	33	0	0
Liberty.....	1	217	64	103	100	22
Independence.....	1	196	54	93	0	0
Richland.....	2	133	20	97	129	7
Morrow.....	0	139	60	37	75	27
Callao.....	1	264	213	52	203	11
East Valley.....	1	165	30	72	50	11
West Valley.....	0	0	23	20	18	16
East Walnut.....	1	103	51	60	94	9
West Walnut.....	1	76	44	44	59	3
East Easley.....	2	139	39	23	38	12
West Easley.....	0	0	38	25	66	4
East Lingo.....	1	230	91	55	125	16
West Lingo.....	0	91	24	69	27	17
Russell.....	3	128	33	68	56	25
White.....	0	141	49	154	146	11
Drake.....	0	108	71	46	95	3
Totals.....	67	5020	2379	2729	3649	798

Within a few days after the election the county court issued 750 new Macon County bonds of \$1,000 each as of the date of July 1, 1911. They were sold on August 17 to William R. Compton Bond and Mortgage Company of St. Louis at a premium of \$5,858 and accrued interest.³⁰⁹ According to the terms of the sale the first 150 of these bonds were to mature on July 1, 1916, and thereafter the remaining bonds

³⁰⁹*Macon Republican*, Aug. 19, 1911. *Macon County Records*, T. 251. As a matter of fact, only 724 bonds were sold to Compton and Co. at a premium of \$5,647.

were to mature in blocks of 40 every year for the next five years and in blocks of 50 for the next eight years, the last one maturing in 1929. The privilege, however, was granted the county court to retire the bonds somewhat more rapidly so that the last might be paid off in 1926.³¹⁰ The prospects are that the last of the bonds will be paid off in 1926.

At this point one might expect to find the end of this long-drawn-out story. But three recalcitrant bondholders, John E. Huey, the Chamberlain Estate and S. G. Hickman, refused to accept the terms of the compromise proposition and held out for something better, and their refusal delayed the final consummation of the whole matter for nearly six years. The aggregate amount of the claims of these three bondholders was in 1911 over \$73,000. It was not until August, 1916, that John E. Huey and the Chamberlain Estate settled their claims, amounting then to over \$53,250 for \$42,500; that is, at the rate of 80 cents on the dollar,³¹¹ and it was not until June, 1917, that the third, S. G. Hickman, settled his claim, amounting then to over \$41,000, for \$38,500, or at the rate of 93 cents on the dollar.³¹² With this done, the last of the old Missouri and Mississippi Railroad claims against the county had been met and settled.

³¹⁰*Macon County Records, T, 251.*

³¹¹*Ibid.*, V, 365.

³¹²*Ibid.*, V, 372-373.

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

By William G. Bek.

SIXTH ARTICLE.

THE FIRST GERMAN PUBLIC SCHOOL WEST OF THE
MISSISSIPPI.

In his later years Frederick Steines wrote: "When I came to St. Louis there were in all eighteen German families and a few unmarried Germans in the city. During the summer of 1834, however, the flood of German immigration began to pour into this new country. So constant was this influx that scarcely a day passed which did not bring its quota of Germans."

He also tells us, that the schools in the new city were very poor, and the Germans, many of whom had had a good education in their home country, saw the absolute necessity of providing suitable instruction for their children. They naturally entertained the wish that the German as well as the English language should be taught. A meeting of representative Germans was called in St. Louis, and the *first* German-English school west of the Mississippi was founded in November, 1836, tho the act of incorporation was not passed till February 6, 1837. Frederick Steines was personally known to a number of Germans in St. Louis, who recognized him as the best prepared German school man in the new state. The following communication was sent him by the secretary of the temporary school organization in November, 1836:

"Mr. Steines:—At a meeting, which was attended by a large number of Germans, the possibility of establishing an elementary school in this town, the adoption of an appropriate constitution for the government of the same, and the choice of a teacher were discussed. The undersigned school commission was instructed to inform you of the transactions of this meeting, and also of the conditions under which it wishes to intrust the instruction of the German youth to the care of a capable man.

"The assembly was unanimous in the belief that religious instruction for small children is a matter for which the parents alone are responsible and which must be looked after at home; moreover, that the more mature youths should receive this instruction from the clergy; that it was now a question of establishing a school for the whole population of St. Louis, without regard to faith or confession; and since religious instruction might be a cause for many parents to withhold their children from the school, it was decided that religious instruction should be positively excluded from the course of study of the proposed school.

"Altho it was the opinion of the assembly that the English as well as the German languages are of vital importance to the Germans in America, and that the teacher who is to be chosen must be able and willing to impart instruction in both languages, nevertheless, the assembly decided, for pedagogic reasons, that the instruction in the English language should be given only to such pupils who already possess, at least a reading knowledge of their mother tongue. It was also resolved that the instruction in the reading and writing of the German language should always come in the morning hours, while the instruction in the English language should be reserved for the afternoon.

"The prospective teacher must also agree to teach Arithmetic, Geography, and Natural Science, the subjects which, after the language of the country, are of greatest importance. Choice of hours and arrangement of the subjects of instruction are left to the teacher and the school commission, as is also the distribution of the pupils in the various classes, according to their ability and preparation.

"The teacher shall not be obliged to give instruction during more than six recitation hours daily. On the afternoons of Wednesday and Saturdays there shall be no instruction given. At first it was the opinion of the assembly that a definite sum should be raised by subscription to pay for the services of the teacher. The difficulty which this plan encountered and the assurance that Mr. Steines would undertake the instruction under any condition caused the adoption

of the resolution, according to which no head of a family should be obliged to pay more than one dollar per month for every child sent to school. The assembly reserved the right, after the organization of the school, to take such measures as would secure a reasonable salary for the teacher.

"A school commission was appointed whose duty it is, in conjunction with the teacher, to see to the execution of the above stipulated resolutions, and this commission also has the power to take the necessary measures regarding regulations and the manner of imparting instruction.

"If you, Mr. Steines, agree with the principles which the assembly adopted and with which you are here acquainted, and if you, in accordance with the above stipulations, undertake the responsible duties of a teacher of the German youth in St. Louis, then it is the wish of all concerned that you come here at once to consult with the undersigned school commission in regard to the execution of our plan. At any rate we look forward to an early reply from you.

"The undersigned assure you that it was the sense of the assembly to support the teacher in the execution of his duties and to make his position as easy as possible.

J. H. KOFF, Pastor.

H. HELGENBERG

H. A. CARSTENS

H. WELKER

DR. LUETHY

THEO. ENGELMANN, Secretary."

St. Louis, November 8, 1836.

To Mr. F. Steines,

Fox Creek Post Office,

St. Louis County, Missouri.

To this communication Mr. Steines made the following reply:

"To the Honorable School Commission of the German Public School in St. Louis,

Gentlemen:—

"On Wednesday last I received number 3 of the *Anzeiger des Westens* and at the same time your esteemed letter of the eighth instant. I am sorry to state, that for the time being

matters of business prevent me from accepting your kind invitation to come to St. Louis at once. It is therefore necessary that I should negotiate with you by letter.

"The recently projected plan of founding a German public school in St. Louis, which is now about to be realized, is a matter of very great value and importance, and the men who have called this institution into existence will receive the approval and esteem of all philanthropic persons, especially of those who have the wellbeing of the Germans in America at heart. My election as teacher of this school is, of course, flattering, and in the event that I should accept the duties, I can assure you that nothing will be nearer my heart than the wish to show myself worthy of the confidence which is placed in me.

"The wish to make the proposed school one which shall be open to Protestants and Catholics alike meets with my hearty approval. It is therefore a matter of course, that I acquiesce most gladly in the resolutions adopted by the School Commission in regard to religious instruction. I do this the more gladly since it has always been my conviction that the teacher does enough if he gives his instruction a religious, moral tendency, leaving all matters of confession and creed to the clergy.

"The wish that instruction should be given in both languages, as well as the arrangement as to the time when this instruction shall be given, meet my approbation completely. One subject I should like to see added to the curriculum, and that is music, since it constitutes one of the chief cultural subjects for our youth. I have no objections to offer in regard to the prescribed number of daily recitation hours.

"Finally, in regard to the honorarium I wish to say, that the assertion that I would be willing to accept the position under any kind of condition is entirely erroneous. On the contrary, I must insist that the annual salary shall amount to the minimum sum of four hundred dollars and this agreement shall be binding for two years. Moreover, I must insist that I shall be provided with a free residence as well as a school house.

"Concerning these points I shall await your answer. If you should acquiesce in my request, I am willing to come to St. Louis without delay, in order to discuss matters further with you. In such an event, will you please name the day and hour of such a meeting?

"I leave it to your judgment as to whether you give publicity to my communication in the German paper of St. Louis.

"Honored sirs, allow me the assurance of sincere esteem with which I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

FREDERICK STEINES."

Tavern Creek,
November 19, 1836.

Further correspondence between Mr. Steines and the officers of the new school is not extant. From Mr. Steines' diary it is known, however, that he made a trip to St. Louis for a personal interview with those interested in the project.

Gustav Koerner,* who mentions the German Public School briefly, says that another meeting was held in December, 1836. At this time forty persons signed the newly adopted constitution and agreed each to \$4.00 annually into a reserve fund which was to be used in case the tuition should not be sufficient to pay the teacher's salary. It was also decided to admit the children of poor people free of charge. Theodor Engelmann was chosen secretary of the board of trustees. Presumably the gentlemen who signed the first communication to Mr. Steines served as the board. A fragment of an old record shows that on the 13th of February, 1839, the following were named trustees: Wilhelm Palm, John Weinheimer, John Helgenburg, J. G. Lehmann and B. Blum.

The site of the public school building in which German public instruction was for the first time given west of the Mississippi was at No. 8 South Second Street.*

*Koerner, *Das deutsche Element*, p. 326.

**Koerner, in *Das deutsche Element*, pages 325-6, tells us, that on the 9th of November, 1835, Dr. Johann Gottfried Buettner, a pastor of a German Evangelical church, issued a public appeal to the Germans in St. Louis, ask-

In his old age Mr. Steines was requested to make out a list of names of those persons who had been actively interested in the new school. The list was evidently made from memory. Unfortunately the first names are left out in a number of instances. The list follows: Captain Karl Neyfeld, Captain Friederich Welker, Feickert, M. Steitz, Theodor Kraft and his brother, Woerner, Helgenberg, Weinheimer, Jesser, H. Speck, Holzward, Bertelsmann, Fath, Mincke, Niemeier, Pastor Wall, Eckart, Heisterhagen, Bentzen, Lorenz Degenhardt, Doench, Wolff, Hoppe, Katz, Dr. Gempp, Tschirpe, Schoch, Karl Jacoby and his brother, Wohlein, Heinrich Koch, Manck, Dings, Adolph Meier, Karstens, Emil Angelrodt, Eggers, Naegele, Buending, Vogt, Schroer, Mau-meier, Weissenberger, Schreiber, Nordhoff, Dr. Geo. Engelmann, Wilhelm Weber, Dr. Leuthy, Eduard Haren, A. E. Ulrici, Roewer, Mueller, Hinzpeter, Sutter, Theo. Engelmann, Almstedt, Lutz, Fleischmann, the Schoenthaler brothers, Schmitz, Neuer, Heinrich and Alexander Kayser, Blum, Balmer and Weber, Franksen and Wesselhoeft, George Wesselhoeft, Schuster, Heinrichshofen, Konrad Stiessmeier, Arthur and Theo. Ohlshausen, and many others.*

ing for their support of a school which he had already established. Evidently this was a parochial school. (Dr. Buettner was a scholarly man who was the author of two works dealing with the United States. One consisted of a number of letters, which appeared in two volumes in Dresden in 1845. The other was entitled *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika*, two volumes, Hamburg, 1844.)

Koerner also tells us that in 1835 several private schools existed in St. Louis.

Concerning the general interest that was manifested, particularly among the Germans in St. Louis, for the advancement of education and science, the same author speaks of the establishment of the St. Louis German Academy. This was done by act of the Legislature on the 6th of February, 1837. The act of incorporation reads in part as follows: "That H. A. Karstens, John A. Bentzen, George Engelmann, Eli (Emil) Angelrodt, K. Neyfeld, Carl A. Geyer, Dr. Philip A. M. Pulte, Dr. H. W. Gempp (Gamp), Charles Fath, Heinrich G. Fette, F. Holzward, Philip A. Medart, Dr. M. D. Boisselier, H. F. Neumeyer, Wilhelm Weber, J. A. Bindseil, E. F. Hoelzle, A. O. (E.) Ulrici, E(duard) Haren and G. Schulze, be and they are hereby constituted a body politic and corporate, to be known by the name of the St. Louis German Academy." It was intended that this should become an institution of higher education, but lacking of funds, the state contributing nothing, the enterprise soon died. It is interesting to note that almost all the men who were interested in this Academy were also supporters of the German Public School.

*See the Appendix for a brief biographic sketch of a number of these men.

On the 6th of February, 1837, Mr. Steines opened his school with fifteen students. The difficulties which he faced were grave and unique. There were absolutely no books or school supplies on hand. Fortunately, Mr. Steines' own library embraced over a thousand volumes. These and the small amount of school supplies which he had brought along for the instruction of his own children were brought into use. For the beginners he made charts which were hung on the wall and from these the children received their first instruction in reading. This proved inadequate, of course so he arranged a small German primer which was printed in St. Louis by Wilhelm Weber. This was the first booklet that came off the press of the Weber Publishing House.* The title page of the primer reads thus: "Erstes Uebungsbuechlein fuer Kinder, welche schnell und gruendlich lesen lernen wollen. Von Friedrich Steines, Lehrer an der deutschen Volksschule in St. Louis, Missouri. Gedruckt von Wilhelm Weber."

Many of the pupils who came to Mr. Steines were poorly prepared for the grade in which they ought to have been. The influx of new students was rather constant, so that it was almost impossible to have regular classes at all. The number of pupils increased to such an extent that in the second year an additional teacher, Mr. Charles Braches, had to be appointed.

Mr. Steines' salary was \$500.00 per year. Contrary to his earlier request a dwelling house was not furnished him by the trustees. The salary of the second teacher amounted to \$100.00 per year.

Being an accomplished musician, Mr. Steines took charge of the music in the Heiliger Geist (Holy Spirit) congregation in St. Louis. For this service he received \$50.00 per year. Upon the request of the Reverend Wall, pastor of the Heiliger Geist congregation, Steines organized a singing school, and

*In Koerner's *Das deutsche Element*, p. 332, we read: "In 1838 appeared from the press of the Wilhelm Weber Publishing House the first German book that was printed in St. Louis. It was an abstract of the most important laws of the state of Illinois. According to our information this statement is not correct, since Steine's Primer was printed by the same firm in 1837. A copy of this Primer is among the Steines documents at this time."

the members of this organization assisted in the church services.

During the summer of 1838 Mr. Steines became seriously ill and was sent to the country by his friend Dr. Geo. Engelmann for recovery, and tho he returned in the fall to resume his duties, the plan to leave the city permanently was firmly resolved upon. St. Louis was very unhealthful at this time. Living expenses were high, as is evidenced by the fact that he had to pay \$16.00 per month for the use of two small rooms. So it happened that instead of making money, he was losing. At the end of October, 1838, he resigned his position in St. Louis and returned to live in the country to the end of his life.*

Upon his return to the country Mr. Steines bought a farm on Ridenhour Creek, commonly called Fiddle Creek, because the people living here were musically inclined, and at their parties danced to the tune of the violin. This new farm joined that of his father-in-law, Johann Herminghaus, and was five miles from his first farm on Tavern Creek. Here fever and ague again troubled his family, and the result was that Steines entered a tract of government land situated on the divide between the Missouri and the Merrimac rivers. Here Frederick Steines lived the rest of his days and here his surviving children still live. The new farm was called Oakfield, by which appropriate and beautiful name it still is known.

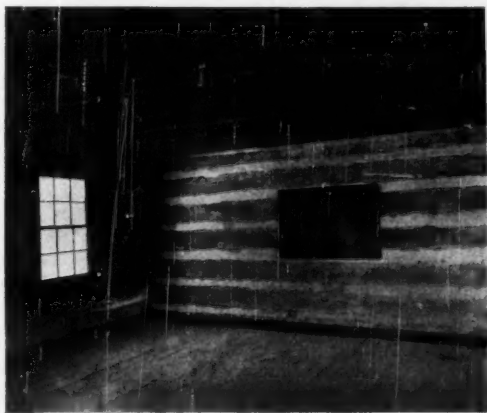
OAKFIELD ACADEMY.

In his letter written at Lindenthal, we read of the school for boys which Mr. Steines' friends urged him to establish on his farm. The first suggestion for the founding of such a

*In passing it may be of interest to know what became of the German Public School. Upon the recommendation of Mr. Steines the Messrs. Henne and Mintrup were appointed to succeed him. When these men resigned after a year Julius Weise became the teacher. After a short time he, too, left, and with his resignation the school ceased to exist. After the school had closed its doors, and even before this time, several private schools were organized, as, for example, those of Poetter and of Werz. Parochial schools also sprang into existence, the one of the Heiliger Geist church, under Christian Hardt, being especially good.



Oakfield Academy seen from the Southeast.



Interior of Oakfield Academy showing the old Blackboard.

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school came from Mr. Nordhoff, the father of the well-known writer, Karl Nordhoff. The school was built, and instruction began in 1839, Karl Nordhoff being one of the first students to enter. The new school was called Oakfield Academy and continued in operation till 1869. During the thirty years of its existence a considerable number of young men and boys received instruction there.

On July 2, 1884, former students of Oakfield Academy and other friends assembled at Oakfield to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of Frederick Steines and his party of immigrants in St. Louis. On this occasion there was organized "The Society of Steines' Pupils." At this time a list of those who had attended the Academy was compiled.* The first president of this alumni body was Frederick Ledergerber of St. Louis. The guests presented the aged school-master with a set of Brockhaus' *Konversationslexikon* and a set of Schiller's works. Addresses were made by Colonel Frederick Ledergerber and Superintendent Louis Soldan, of the public schools of St. Louis, and others, commemorating the achievements of this singularly active man.

THE EPILOGUE.

There were no railroads in Missouri during the early eventful years of Mr. Steines' residence at Oakfield. Travelers of every rank took lodging at his home, for, as a true Missourian, he had the latch-string always on the outside. Concerning one of his guests Mr. Steines told the following story: "One morning, it was on a Sunday, a gentleman on horseback stopped at my gate and called 'Hello.' I went to the gate and he asked me whether he could get feed for his horse and dinner for himself. I told him that the former wish could be complied with at once, but, since it was only

*The list of former students of Oakfield Academy is unfortunately not complete, some of the records having been lost. Nevertheless it is an interesting list and will be found in the appendix of this article. Only the students who boarded at the Academy were formally entered in this list. There were also numerous students from the neighborhood who were known as "day pupils." Mr. E. E. Steines states that more than 500 young men and boys received instruction at this school.

ten o'clock, dinner would not be served till later. Thereupon he replied, that that did not make any difference, for he intended to rest for a couple of hours, since his horse was very tired, and he should like to visit with me for a while any-

Hour	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
8-9	English: Reading and Translation	German: Reading and Translation	Mathematics	German: Reading and Translation	Reading and Translation	Mathematics
9-10	Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics
10-11	General History	Natural History	History of the United States.	General History	Natural History	History of the United States.
11-12	Geography	Geography	Singing and Declamation	Geography	Geography	Singing and Declamation

NOON HOUR

2-3	Penmanship	Penmanship	Nature Study	Penmanship	Penmanship	—
3-4	Dictation Exercises	Drawing	Natural History	Drawing	Dictation Exercises	
4-5	English Rhetoric	English Rhetoric	English Rhetoric	English Rhetoric	English Rhetoric	

way. I told him to dismount and that I would take his horse to the stable and feed it. He dismounted, and I requested him to go into the house, and to excuse me for a little while, because my hired hand was not at home. He did not go into the house, however, but laid his hand on my shoulder and walked to the barn with me. When I took the saddle off, I noticed that the horse had a very sore back. Then I went to the pond, got some wet clay, tore off some leaves of

*It is a matter of interest to know what was taught in the small schools that called themselves academies during these days when our school system was in the making. The accompanying is the schedule of Oakfield Academy for the summer term of 1852. To give instruction in so many studies to a relatively unequally prepared student body Mr. Fr. Steines had an assistant teacher.

a jimsonweed and laid in all on the wound, put a rag over it and fastened it with a girth. Then I fed the horse and went back to the house with the gentleman, who again walked at my side, with his hand on my shoulder. I thought to myself, that this was certainly a most confidential and friendly man. We sat down and began to talk. The gentleman was very simply dressed in blue jeans, but his pockets were stuffed full of papers, and from his saddlebag, too, the newspapers protruded on both sides. I took him to be a lawyer from Jefferson City. He had scarcely seated himself, when he took a piece of chewing tobacco out of his vest pocket and began to chew. Presently he directed the conversation to politics, and wished to know what I thought about this or that point. Well, I told my opinion without reserve, and criticised many things, and did not conceal the fact, that I had imagined, while I was still in Germany, that the Americans were quite different from what they actually are. I told him frankly, that the laws were only a farce, and hypocrisy, fraud and deception were the order of the day, and that the majority of office-holders were as bad as they could be. He listened patiently and even said, 'Yes, that's so, you are right.' Then he began to speak of school matters, and stated that he was a great friend of education, that he had taught school himself in Illinois, that he had heard that I had been a school teacher in Germany, and that he had arranged his trip especially in such a manner, that he might spend a little time with me, in order to learn something about the Prussian school system. Then I explained that system to him. Visibly delighted he asked me what I thought about the schools in this country. I told him that, especially in the country regions, I had not found any real schools as yet. Moreover, I said, that the buildings which were called schools here were really only pig pens, and the few teachers, whom I had the opportunity of knowing, were for the most part only vagabonds or drunkards, but if a really capable man was found, it was soon seen, that he used the school only as a means to prepare himself for another profession, that he taught school merely to earn a few dollars in order to train

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himself to become a physician, a lawyer or something else. I pointed out how impossible it was for such a man to devote himself with his whole soul, mind and heart to the education of the young.

"Many other things were discussed by us. Finally the gentleman declared that it was the highest time he should be on his way, since he had an engagement in Union, the county seat of Franklin County, that evening. It was then four o'clock. He took friendly leave of my wife, and we went to the stable to saddle his horse. He again walked at my side as he had done in the morning.

"Having arrived at the gate, he mounted his horse, took out a notebook and said smiling: 'Now, Mr. Steines, I know your name, Frederick Steines, but please spell it for me—S-t-e-i-n-e-s—I want to write it down correctly.' I spelled my name and he remarked that the diphthong 'ei' was equivalent to English 'i.' Thereupon I became curious too and said: 'Excuse me, sir, what is your name?' He replied: 'Edwards.' I looked at him somewhat astonished and said: 'Edwards? John C. Edwards?' 'Yes, sir; that is my name.' I: 'The Governor of Missouri?' He: 'Yes, sir.' Then I wished to excuse myself for some of my plain utterances, but he interrupted me and assured me that he had had an interesting and delightful interview, and invited me urgently to come to see him in Jefferson City, but not to go to a hotel, but to stay with him as his guest for several days. I promised to do this, but unfortunately was never able to do so.

"When I returned to the house, I said to my wife: 'Well, whom do you think we had for our guest today?' She replied: 'Oh, some lawyer from the backwoods.' 'No,' I replied, 'it was our Governor Edwards.*' We both expressed astonishment that a gentleman of such rank should appear

*John Cummings Edwards was born in Kentucky in 1806 and was reared in Rutherford County, Tennessee. He received a good education in Tennessee and was there admitted to the bar. He came to Missouri in 1828. From 1830 to 1837 he was Secretary of State, and at the expiration of his term of office he was a member of the Missouri Legislature for one term. From 1840 to 1844 he represented Missouri in Congress, and from 1844 to 1848 he was Governor of that State. He died in California in 1888.

so simple, so plain, so unpretentious and modest. Then we made comparisons between such dignitaries here and in Germany.

"Later on, when the legislature convened, I noticed distinctly in the Governor's message, that he had noted well many things we discussed in our conversation."

Mr. Steines led an active life and was always deeply interested in public questions. For seven years he served as Justice of the Peace. The County Court of Franklin appointed him to divide his township into school districts. For five years he taught in the public schools of his county after his academy had closed its doors. When the postoffice was established at Oakfield (largely thru his initiative), he became its first postmaster, which position he held for many years. He was a frequent contributor to the German and English papers in his county as well as in St. Louis. During the Civil War he organized a company of Home Guards, and was chosen its captain. When in 1866 the County Court of Franklin County voted to issue bonds for the construction of a macadamized road from the town of Union to the St. Louis County line, the people of the county doubted the legality of this step on the part of the court. When later on it seemed to the people that the work had been unsatisfactorily done, a number of the residents of the county brought suit against the County Court and others. This famous bond suit was in the courts for a long time, finding its way into the Supreme Court of Missouri, and finally into the Supreme Court of the United States, where a verdict was given for the defendants. In this famous suit Frederick Steines and others were the plaintiffs and the County of Franklin and others the defendants. The old hatred against injustice, alleged or real, which had been one of the causes of his coming to America, involved Mr. Steines in much unpleasant litigation.

On January 1, 1885, the venerable couple, Frederick and Bertha Steines, celebrated their golden wedding at Oakfield.

Frederick Steines' death occurred at Oakfield on April 24, 1890, at the age of a little more than 87 years. His kind wife, Bertha Steines, nee Herminghaus, his comfort and joy for more than fifty-five years, died at Oakfield July 22, 1892.

APPENDIX.

BIOGRAPHIC SKETCHES OF SOME OF FREDERICK STEINES' FELLOW-IMMIGRANTS.

HERMANN STEINES was born at Kettwig, Germany, June 7, 1809. He was educated as a druggist and physician in Germany. He came to St. Louis in 1833. During his first year of American residence he was assistant to Dr. Craft, a druggist and physician in St. Louis. In 1834 he bought two tracts of land from William Bacon and Parmelia, his wife, on Tavern Creek. In 1836 he married Miss Louise Westholz, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. He farmed, taught school for several years, practiced medicine, was Justice of the Peace for a long time, and served several terms as assessor of St. Louis County. His farm, which contained over three hundred acres, is now in possession of his son, Charles Steines. Hermann Steines died on his farm on Tavern Creek on August 14, 1875.

PETER STEINES was born at Kettwig, Germany, May 6, 1805. In Germany he had been a teacher. Almost immediately upon his arrival in St. Louis in 1834 he and his wife became sick of the cholera, of which dreadful disease his wife died, while he recovered. With his parents he moved to a farm near the Tavern Creek. Having been thrown from a horse, he died of his injuries on December 22, less than six months after his arrival in the west.

JOHANN FRIEDRICH WILHELM STEINES and his wife, Anna Catherine Steines, nee Unterleberg, were the parents of Frederick, Hermann, and Peter Steines. They came to Missouri in 1834 and settled on a farm of 160 acres at the headwaters of Tavern Creek. In Germany J. F. W. Steines had been a dealer in leather and a manufacturer of boots and

shoes in Kettwig. He died on his farm in 1843 and his wife in 1844.

JOHANN HERMINGHAUS was the manager of the estate of a wealthy nobleman in the district of Duesseldorf, Germany. He came to this country with the party conducted by Frederick Steines. As the cholera was raging in St. Louis at the time of his arrival, he went to St. Charles. Soon the cholera appeared there also. His brother-in-law, P. Kirschbaum, died there. Several members of his immediate family also became sick, but finally recovered. Then he moved to Fiddle Creek in Franklin County, Missouri, where he lived on a farm with his son and two stepsons. He died at Oakfield, near Pacific, Missouri, on January 15, 1858, his wife having died on December 6, 1851.

ADOLPH GREEF was born in Kettwig, Germany, February 18, 1807. He was a cousin of Frederick Steines. With Hermann Steines he came to Missouri in 1833, having been sent to look the situation over and to report back to the people at home, as Duden had requested prospective emigrants should do. He bought land on Tavern Creek, but being impecunious he did not settle on his farm at once, but spent the first year in St. Louis, working at his trade as cabinet-maker. When Solingen immigrants arrived in 1834 he went to the country with them. He died on Tavern Creek, April 7, 1883.

GUSTAV HERMINGHAUS, the son of Johann Herminghaus, was born March 5, 1820, in Galkhausen, Germany. He remained on his father's farm in Franklin County till 1854, when he removed to California, where he mined for gold several years, then bought a ranch near Fresno and became wealthy. He died on November 18, 1904.

FREDERICH BRACHES was born in Galkhausen, Rhine-Prussia, April 15, 1807. After his arrival in Missouri in 1834 he lived with his step-father, Johann Herminghaus, on the latter's farm on Fiddle Creek. Then he moved to Barry County, Missouri, where he remained for two years. After his return to Franklin County in 1840, he bought a tract of land on the ridge three miles west of Oakfield, where he es-

tablished the first nursery for the propagation of fruit trees in Franklin County. This business he conducted till the year 1870. He was also one of the pioneers of grape culture in this section, having begun the same in 1840, and having made wine before this industry had made Hermann, Missouri, famous. In Germany he had been a distiller. He died on his farm near Gray Summit, Missouri, on July 30, 1893.

CHARLES BRACHES was a step-son of Johann Herminghaus, having been born in Galkhausen, Germany, on February 25, 1813. In Germany he had been a teacher. For several years he lived on his step-father's farm. Then he became the assistant teacher under Frederick Steines in the German Public School in St. Louis. From there he went to Vicksburg, Mississippi, where he was an instructor in music in a college for several years. Thence he went to Gonzales, Texas, and engaged in mercantile undertakings. He was elected a member of the Texas legislature when that state separated from Mexico. Later he became a wealthy cotton planter and a raiser of live stock. He died on his ranch near Gonzales, Texas, on July 5, 1889.

FRIEDERICH BRUEGGERHOF, who married a step-daughter of Johann Herminghaus, settled on a farm on Wild Horse Creek, St. Louis County, Missouri. In 1838 he moved to a farm adjoining that of Friederich Braches, where he conducted a tavern for several years. He then removed to St. Louis, where he conducted a hotel for about twenty years. Then he became market-master of the old Central Market, and held this position till his death in 1870.

KARL (CHARLES) PAFFRATH was born in Leichlingen, Rhine-Prussia, July 13, 1810. In Germany he had been a silk-weaver by profession. With others of the Solingen Emigration Society he settled on Tavern Creek in Missouri, but after a few years removed to Fox Creek in St. Louis County, where he had a farm and a grocery store. For many years he conducted a tavern here, and, this being the day before railroads, all traveling thru this region was done on the State Road, and travelers from all over the western and

southwestern part of Missouri were entertained by him. He is described as a jovial host, and was familiarly known as Dutch Charlie, and his place was widely known as Dutch Hollow. The last years of his life were spent on a farm near Melrose in St. Louis County, about a mile from his first location. He was engaged in the raising of fruit and the making of wine until his death on March 11, 1895.

CHRISTIAN HARDT was born March 16, 1804, in Ruen-derath, Rhine-Prussia. He finished his education in the Normal School in Elberfeld under the celebrated Johann Friederich Wilberg. For a time he taught in Germany. In 1838 he emigrated to America and soon settled on Tavern Creek. He was the first teacher in the Tavern Creek school. Later he was chosen principal of the parochial school of the Heiliger Geist congregation in St. Louis. In later years he again returned to Tavern Creek, where he continued to teach and farm till about two years before his death, which occurred on January 19, 1886.

J. WILHELM F. KOCHS, an architect by trade, was born at Gelsenkirchen, Germany, April 25, 1805. In 1833 he sailed for America, and worked in St. Louis and Dubuque (now Iowa, but at that time Missouri Territory on the Mississippi), building houses and churches. In 1838 he returned to Germany, where he married Henriette Becker on March 23, 1838. Returning to Missouri, at once, they settled on a farm forty miles west of St. Louis, near the site of St. Albans, a village which the Scotchman, Dr. Kinkaid, had plotted, but which was washed away by the Missouri in 1844. He built the first Tavern Creek schoolhouse. For many years he held a public squireship. He was one of the first to come to the Tavern Creek settlement, and the last of the first settlers to die, his death occurring on October 1, 1898, at an age over 93 years.

His wife, Henriette Kochs, nee Becker, was born near Cologne, Germany, June 1, 1819. She was married at the age of nineteen and became the mother of twelve children, six sons and six daughters. She died December 14, 1900.

FLORENZ KOCHS came with his brother Wilhelm in 1833 and bought a farm in the region where Frederick Steines settled. He died October 12, 1839, and his widow married Christian Hardt, whose biographic sketch appears above.

FRANCIS BECKER came with the Kochs brothers in 1833 and settled at the mouth of Tavern Creek on the Missouri river, near the site of St. Albans. He was a carpenter by trade. In Missouri he soon became interested in politics, and for twenty years he was a County Judge of Franklin County, Missouri. He died in 1886.*

A BRIEF SKETCH OF MY INFORMANT—

ERNST EDMUND STEINES.

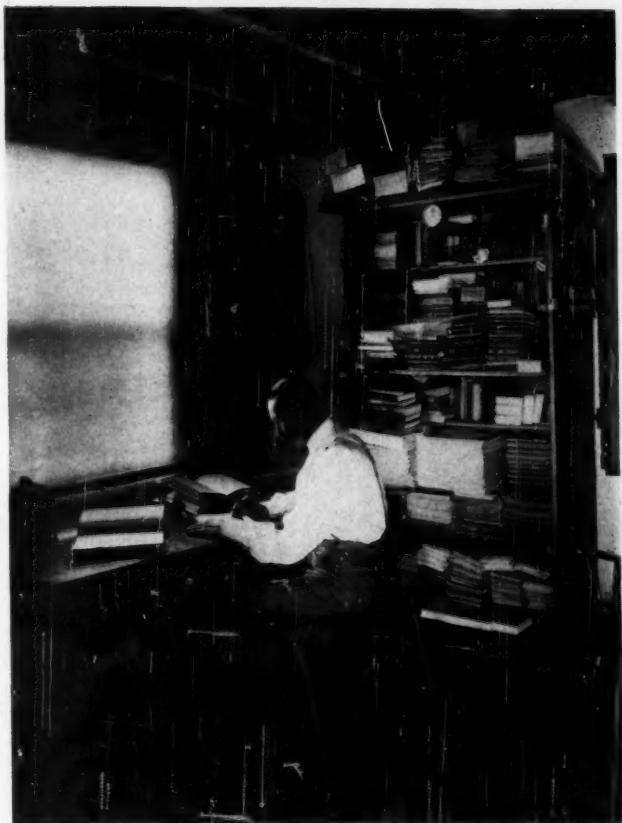
ERNEST EDMUND STEINES was born July 1, 1848, in Oakfield, Missouri. His parents were Frederick Steines and Bertha Steines, nee Herminghaus. He still lives on the place where he was born. For two years he was assistant to his father in the Oakfield German-English Academy. Then he taught for fifteen years in the public schools of his county. At present he is engaged in farming on the old family estate at Oakfield. He is a well-read man and an indefatigable collector. In the building which was once used as the Academy he has a study, stacked with interesting books and papers. To him I am indebted for the generous loan of the interesting and valuable old documents which are contained in the preceding account. To him I wish here publicly to acknowledge my obligation and express my gratitude.

STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED STEINES' OAKFIELD ACADEMY.*

<i>Year of Entrance</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Home Address</i>
1839.....	Charles Nordhoff.....	St. Louis
	Heino von Raskow.....	St. Louis
	Philipp Helgenberg.....	St. Louis
	Henry Weinheimer.....	St. Louis

*Other Germans who followed Fr. Steines to the Tavern Creek country, according to Mr. E. E. Steines, are: Wahl, Lenz, Wirtz, Pohling, Halbach, Korff, Kurlbaum, Wengler, Dellus, Meyer, Knobel, Merk.

*The list of students who attended Oakfield Academy from 1841 to 1843 cannot be found, but even in this incomplete form this catalog of names representing the sons of pioneer residents in the Missouri Valley is interesting.



E. E. Steines in his study, a room of the old Oakfield Academy. The bench Mr. Steines is sitting on is one of the old benches used by the students in the early days.

<i>Year of Entrance</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Home Address</i>
1840.....	H. H. Laumeier.....	St. Louis
	Ernst Kurlbaum.....	Franklin County
	Charles Kurlbaum.....	Franklin County
	Otto Steines.....	Franklin County
1844.....	Henry C. Gempp.....	St. Louis
	Edward Haren.....	St. Louis
	Anton Stiesmeyer.....	St. Louis
	Hermann Pulte.....	St. Louis
	Fredrick Huth.....	St. Louis
	Henry Werner.....	St. Louis
	Conrad Fath.....	St. Louis
	John C. Brown.....	St. Louis
	Francis Gray.....	Gray Summit
1845.....	William Gempp.....	St. Louis
	Charles Jeffries.....	Union
	Charles Katz.....	St. Louis
	Matthew W. Jeffries.....	Gray Summit
	Ferdinand Rohmann.....	St. Louis
	Andreas Rohmann.....	St. Louis
	Theodor Steudemann.....	St. Louis
	Caernar von Richards.....	St. Louis
	George William King.....	St. Louis
	Theodor Hildenbrandt.....	St. Louis
1846.....	Fred T. Ledergerber.....	St. Clair Co., Ill.
	Joseph Ledergerber.....	St. Clair Co., Ill.
	Alfred Beck.....	Highland, Ill.
	Alexander Beck.....	Highland, Ill.
	Albert Knecht.....	St. Louis
	Robert Knecht.....	St. Louis
	J. Theodor Schulze.....	St. Louis
	John S. Clayton.....	Union.
1847.....	William Dings.....	St. Louis
	Fred Beck.....	St. Louis
	Edmund Pignero.....	St. Louis
	William LeGrand Hall.....	Union
	August Becker.....	St. Louis
	William J. Bloomfield.....	St. Louis
	Gregory Byrne.....	St. Louis

<i>Year of Entrance</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Home Address</i>
1848.....	Alphons Dupre.....	St. Louis
	George Martien.....	St. Louis
	William Martien.....	St. Louis
	Edward Lowe.....	St. Louis
	Bernhard Zoller.....	St. Louis
	George Littleton.....	St. Louis
	Francis Withinton.....	Bridgeton
	George Withinton.....	Bridgeton
	Nicholas Crowder.....	Franklin County
	Nickolaus Reimbold.....	Nauvoo, Ill.
	Charles Bergt.....	St. Louis
	Charles Roff.....	St. Louis
	William LaBeaume.....	St. Louis
1849.....	Jean Ferre.....	St. Louis
	William Schuette.....	St. Louis
	William Roff.....	St. Louis
	Adolph Vitt.....	Union
	Frederick Blattner.....	St. Louis
	Charles Zoller.....	St. Louis
	Louis Fassen.....	St. Louis
	Frederick Schmidt.....	St. Louis
	Henry Derby.....	St. Louis
	George LaBeaume.....	St. Louis
	William Dunnivant.....	Jefferson County
	William Dreess.....	Union
	William Buddecke.....	St. Louis
	William McAdams.....	St. Louis
1850.....	William Meyersick.....	Union
	William Chiles.....	St. Louis
	Eugene Papin.....	St. Louis
	John Forsyth.....	St. Louis
	Samuel Massey.....	Franklin County
1851.....	Christian Kuebler.....	St. Louis
	Joseph Uhrig.....	St. Louis
	Francis Klausmann.....	St. Louis
	Franklin Gempp.....	St. Louis
	Bartholomaeus Barth.....	St. Louis
	Adolphus Gratiot.....	Cheltenham, Mo.
	Charles James.....	St. Louis
	Rudolph Brueggerhof.....	St. Louis
	Henry Harrington.....	St. Louis
	Benjamin Inks.....	Fox Creek

<i>Year of Entrance</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Home Address</i>
1852.....	Henry Young.....	Franklin County
	Charles Fritschle.....	St. Louis
	Jacob Fritschle.....	St. Louis
	Henry Abend.....	Belleville, Ill.
	Joseph Abend.....	Belleville, Ill.
	Thomas Cook.....	St. Louis
	Isaac Cook.....	St. Louis
	Charles Kunz.....	St. Louis
	William Schulze.....	St. Louis
	Otto Dings.....	St. Louis
	William Dings.....	St. Louis
	Jacob Meier.....	Waterloo, Ill.
	Jacob Ernst Gauen.....	Waterloo, Ill.
	Christopher Raborg.....	St. Louis
	William Martien.....	Fulton
	Frederick Ritter.....	St. Louis
	Charles Schulte.....	Melrose
	Frederick W. Steines.....	Melrose
1853.....	Alexander Murdock.....	St. Charles County
	Isaac Daniels.....	Bellevue
	Frank Raborg.....	St. Louis
	George Schaffner.....	St. Louis
	Frederick Meyer.....	Waterloo, Ill.
	August Hildebrand.....	St. Louis
	Joseph Meyer.....	Waterloo, Ill.
	James G. Mackay.....	Sappington
	Louis Diehl.....	Belleville, Ill.
	Conrad Diehl.....	Belleville, Ill.
	William Rubach.....	Belleville, Ill.
	Zeno Mackay.....	Sappington
	Browning Fish.....	St. Louis
	John Fish.....	St. Louis
	Edward Mueller.....	St. Louis
	Hugo Schuster.....	St. Louis
	Thomas Schands.....	St. Louis
	Joseph Riehl.....	St. Louis
	George A. Knight.....	St. Louis
	Fred Mueller.....	Peoria, Ill.
	William Mueller.....	Peoria, Ill.
	Richard Bode.....	St. Louis
	Julius Hauck.....	Belleville, Ill.
	George Lewis.....	St. Louis

<i>Year of Entrance</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Home Address</i>
1853.....	Henry Kiroher.....	Belleville, Ill.
	William Maus.....	Belleville, Ill.
	John Winter.....	Belleville, Ill.
1854.....	Joseph Uhrig.....	St. Louis
	Albert Mayer.....	St. Louis
	Charles Ketchum.....	St. Louis
	Evans Walker.....	Ottawa, Ill.
	Albert Tison.....	Ellisville
	Emil Huber.....	Peoria, Ill.
	George Blum.....	Peoria, Ill.
	William Neumann.....	St. Louis
	William Roth.....	Peoria, Ill.
	John Higgins.....	St. Louis
	George Higgins.....	St. Louis
	Theodor Kampmann.....	Quincy, Ill.
	William Nichols.....	Ballwin
	Daniel Gartside.....	St. Louis
	Hermann Ruettecke.....	St. Louis
	Robert Hanna.....	Manchester
	Peter Rauschkolb.....	Peoria, Ill.
	William Emerson.....	St. Louis
	Joseph McEvoy.....	St. Louis
	Francis Schulze.....	Howell's Ferry
1855.....	Philip Hays.....	St. Louis
	Hermann Kraft.....	St. Louis
	John Dickey.....	Ottawa, Ill.
	Charles Dickey.....	Ottawa, Ill.
	Frederick Peipers.....	St. Louis
	Paul Peipers.....	St. Louis
	Robert Peipers.....	St. Louis
	Charles Hardy.....	LaSalle, Ill.
	Lewis Beakey.....	St. Louis
	Henry Arens.....	Portland
	Hart Norris.....	Ottawa, Ill.
	Byrney Gooding.....	LaSalle, Ill.
	Gustav Dugge.....	Morse's Mills
	Thomas Matthews.....	St. Louis
	William Matthews.....	St. Louis
	James Matthews.....	St. Louis
	Otto Wagener.....	Millstadt P. O., Ill.
	William McFarran.....	LaSalle, Ill.
	Julius Guenaudon.....	St. Louis
	Charles Wolff.....	St. Louis

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN.

141

<i>Year of Entrance</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Home Address</i>
1856.....	Harvey Matson.....	Missouritown
	James Haas.....	St. Louis
	Rudolph Dreyer.....	St. Louis
	William Riehl.....	St. Louis
	Rudolph Oehmen.....	St. Louis
	Henry Dilg.....	Belleville, Ill.
	William Withinton.....	Bridgeton
	William Smith.....	Jonesburg
	Samuel Smith.....	Jonesburg
	Joseph Mueller.....	Highland, Ill.
	Gottfried Balmer.....	St. Louis
	Henry Bernays.....	St. Louis
1857.....	Urban Stroh.....	Waterloo, Ill.
	Phillip Heyl.....	Hecker P. O., Ill.
	Carl Frick.....	Waterloo, Ill.
	Henry Erb.....	Mattice P. O.
	Ernst W. von Schreeb.....	
	Valentine Hebenstreit.....	Hecker P. O., Ill.
	Ernst Frick.....	Waterloo, Ill.
	John Weber.....	Central P. O.
	Otto A. Wolff.....	Edwardsville, Ill.
	Charles Vollstadt.....	St. Louis
	Charles Hagnauer.....	Highland, Ill.
	Jacob Weber.....	Highland, Ill.
	Hermann Koechel.....	
	Hermann Ulrich.....	Morse's Mills
	George Roemig.....	Central Station, Ill.
	Charles Eckart.....	Centerville, Ill.
	Fred Eckart.....	Centerville, Ill.
	Nelson Kerzinger.....	St. Louis
	James Wickliff Higbee.....	Weston
	Robert Hirschberg.....	St. Louis
	August Bierwirth.....	Cape Girardeau
	Martin Bierwirth.....	Cape Girardeau
	Louis Tanzberger.....	St. Louis
	George Oldendorf.....	Millstadt, Ill.
	Fred Zanger.....	Millstadt, Ill.
	John Zanger.....	Millstadt, Ill.
	Elmore Walker.....	Ottawa, Ill.
	Henry Theiss.....	St. Louis
	George Mehl.....	Mattice P. O.
	John Frick.....	Prairie du Long, Ill.
	Gustav Kuenzel.....	Marthasville

<i>Year of Entrance</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Home Address</i>
1857.....	Peter Delor.....	Mattice P. O.
	Emil Thomas.....	Mattice P. O.
	John Ettling.....	Carondelet
1858.....	Michael Flick.....	Ottawa, Ill.
	Henry Koenigkraemer.....	St. Louis
	John Flick.....	Ottawa, Ill.
	Theodor Lehmberg.....	Pinkney
	George Henckler.....	Columbia, Ill.
	Roger Lee.....	Prairie du Rocher, Ill.
	John Reed.....	St. Louis
	Bernhard Jaeger.....	St. Louis
	Henry Reading.....	Morris, Ill.
	Allen Mallory.....	Morris, Ill.
	Conrad Lang.....	Millstadt, Ill.
	Daniel Voepel.....	St. Louis
	Gustav Kuebler.....	St. Louis
	Julius Greenhood.....	St. Louis
	Hermann Richter.....	Morse's Mills
1859.....	Theodor Tison.....	Ellisville
	Charles Dugge.....	Morse's Mills
	William North.....	Gray Summit
	Charles Faber.....	St. Louis
	Joseph Decher.....	Carondelet
	William Abele.....	St. Louis
	John Thro.....	Boonville
	Leopold Brenneisen.....	Boonville
	Edward Pike.....	St. Louis
1860.....	Oberon Kueckelhahn.....	Boonville
	William Maurice.....	St. Louis
	George Tscharnier.....	Plumhill, Ill.
	Henry Oeters.....	St. Louis
	George Andrews.....	St. Louis
	Frank E. Fowler.....	St. Louis
	August Theune.....	Portland
	Charles Boisselier.....	Bon Homme
1861.....	John Hemm.....	Carondelet
	Charles Dreinhoefel.....	Pond P. O.
	Fred Dreinhoefel.....	Pond P. O.

<i>Year of Entrance</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Home Address</i>
1862.....	William Mosberger.....	St. Louis
	James Walker.....	St. Louis
	Ferdinand Pauls.....	Allenton
	Charles Gottschalk.....	St. Louis
	Max Pohle.....	Cairo, Ill.
	Robert Hull.....	St. Louis
	George Hull.....	St. Louis
	Henry Ritter.....	Edwardsville, Ill.
	Hermann Ritter.....	Edwardsville, Ill.
1863.....	John Clark.....	Sedalia
	Edward Villmer.....	Ballwin
	Stephen Schreiner.....	Manchester
	Arthur Mittelberg.....	St. Louis
	Norman Allen.....	Pacific
	Nelson Allen.....	Pacific
	C. B. Hacker.....	Pacific
	Joseph Bagot.....	Glencoe
	J. Henry Bagot.....	Glencoe
	George Martin Armbruster.....	Edwardsville, Ill.
	John Koenig.....	Edwardsville, Ill.
	Louis Eulenstein.....	Pinkney
	Theodor Day.....	St. Louis
	James Green.....	St. Louis
	Charles Hardt.....	Melrose
	Louis Lehmberg.....	Pinkney
	James Whitsett.....	Catawissa
1864.....	Louis Petri.....	St. Louis
	Julius Boisselier.....	Augusta
	Benjamin Andrae.....	Ellisville
	George Winter.....	Belleville, Ill.
	Louis Steller.....	St. Louis
	Jacob Ambs.....	St. Louis
	Hermann Oetker.....	Gray Summit
1865.....	Alexander Waltenspeil.....	St. Louis
	Edward Schmidt.....	St. Louis
	Fred Finger.....	St. Louis
	William Kaechele.....	Gasconade City
	John Luecken.....	Vicksburg, Miss.
	Charles Kuhnén.....	Highland, Ill.
	Fred Reper.....	Highland, Ill.

<i>Year of Entrance</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Home Address</i>
1865.....	William Melwin.....	St. Louis
	Wiley Luster.....	Owensville
	Ernst Vogelskamp.....	St. Louis
	Louis Ries.....	Portland
1866.....	Perry Richardson.....	Canaan
	Oscar Fribourg.....	St. Louis
	Louis Springer.....	St. Louis
	Anton Gropp.....	California
	Alfred Richter.....	Morse's Mills
	James Richter.....	Morse's Mills
	Joseph Richter.....	Morse's Mills
	Gustav Richter.....	Morse's Mills
	Daniel Essen.....	Pond
	Jacob Schreiner.....	Manchester
	John Schmidt.....	Manchester
	Louis Dehn.....	Morse's Mills
1867.....	Fred Mittelberg.....	St. Louis
	Fred E. Niesen.....	St. Louis
	Constant Kloose.....	St. Louis
	Frederick Hildenbrand.....	St. Louis
	William Beinker.....	Rock Spring
	William Niebrugge.....	Manchester
	William K. Dependahl.....	Manchester
	Julius Hundhausen.....	Gray Summit
	John Bittel.....	St. Louis
	Joseph Bittel.....	St. Louis
	Ernst Salzmänn.....	Highland, Ill.
	Joseph Voegelé.....	Highland, Ill.
	Michael Kraemer.....	Hecker P. O., Ill.
	Charles E. Waldmann.....	Hecker P. O., Ill.
	Fred Blattner.....	Highland, Ill.
1868.....	Louis Tuffly.....	Highland, Ill.
	Charles Tuffly.....	Highland, Ill.
	Ernst Sahn.....	Hilltown
	Alfred Potts.....	Melrose
	Philipp Sauer.....	Redbud, Ill.
	Adam Huth.....	Redbud, Ill.
	Henry Alt.....	Manchester
	Louis Becker.....	Melrose
	George Homrighausen.....	Redbud, Ill.

<i>Year of Entrance</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Home Address</i>
1868.....	Oliver Brooks.....	St. Louis
	Charles Suppiger.....	Highland, Ill.
	Hermann Holzhausen.....	Portland
	John Leder.....	Highland, Ill.
	Eugene North.....	Labadie
	Charles Powell.....	Labadie
	John Chiles.....	Gray Summit
	Charles Gartside.....	St. Louis
	Julius Geilhausen.....	Peoria, Ill.
	Albert Geilhausen.....	Peoria, Ill.
	William Geilhausen.....	Peoria, Ill.
	Fred Geilhausen.....	Peoria, Ill.
	Henry Reinke.....	Ballwin
	David Rinderer.....	Highland, Ill.
	August Pieron.....	Highland, Ill.
	Emil Hagnauer.....	Highland, Ill.
	William Friek.....	Hecker P. O., Ill.
1869*....	John Jekel.....	Redbud, Ill.
	Wright L. Smith.....	Jonesburg

The roll of students who attended Mr. Steines' school in St. Louis is lost, but in his old days Mr. Steines recalled that following were in attendance:

Gabriel Woerner	Rudolph Wohlien	Mrs. George F. Dittmann
Charles Speck	—— Niemeier	Mrs. John Bolland
Bernhard Ulrici	—— Niemeier	Christiana Mineke
Robert Ulrici	Hermann Carstens	Mathilde Lamp
Julius Mank	Ferdinand Welcker	Elise Brueggelhof

*Oakfield Academy continued to be well attended to the last. In regard to the two students who entered in 1869 it should be said that the first entered on January 1, and the second on April 20. The doors of Oakfield Academy did not open that fall.

SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO.

AN UNWRITTEN LEAF OF THE WAR.

John N. Edwards.

SIXTH ARTICLE (REPRINT).

CHAPTER XII.

Both by education and temperament there were but few men better fitted to accept the inevitable gracefully than General Shelby. It needed not Depreuil's testimony, nor the immediate confirmation thereof by Jeanningros, to convince him that Bazaine's order was imperative. True enough, he might have marched forth from Parras free to choose whatsoever route he pleased, but to become *en rapport* with the Government, it was necessary to obey Bazaine. So when the good-byes were said, and the column well in motion, it was not towards the Pacific that the foremost horsemen rode along.

As the expedition won well its way into Mexico, many places old in local song and story arose, as it were, from the past, and stood out, clear-cut and crimson, against the background of a history filled to the brim with rapine, and lust, and slaughter. No other land under the sun had an awakening so storm begirt, a christening so bloody and remorseless. First, the Spaniards under Cortez—swart, fierce, long of broadsword and limb; and next the Revolution, wherein no man died peacefully or under the shade of a roof. There was Hidalgo, the ferocious Priest—shot. Morelos, with these words in his mouth—shot: "Lord, if I have done well, Thou knowest it; if ill, to Thy infinite mercy I commend my soul." Leonardo Bravo, scorning to fly—shot. Nicholas Bravo, his son, who had offered a thousand captives for his father's life—shot. Matamoras—shot. Mina—shot. Guerrero—shot. Then came the Republic—bloodier, bitterer, crueller. Victoria, its first President—shot. Mexia—shot. Pedraza—shot. Santmanet—shot by General Ampudia, who cut off his head, boiled it in oil, and stuck it up on a pole to blacken in the

sun. Herrera—shot. Paredes—shot. All of them shot, these Mexican Presidents, except Santa Anna, who lost a leg by the French and a country by the Americans. Among his gamecocks and his mistresses today in Havanna he will see never again, perhaps, the white brow of Orizava from the southern sea, and rest never again under the orange and the banana trees about Cordova.

It was a land old in the world's history that these men rode into, and a land stained in the world's crimes—a land filled full of the sun and the tropics. What wonder, then, that a deed was done on the fifth day's marching that had about it the splendid dash and bravado of mediæval chivalry.

Keeping outermost guard one balmy evening far beyond the silent camp of the dreaming soldiers, James Wood and Yandell Blackwell did vigilant duty in front of the reserve. The fire had gone out when the cooking was done, and the earth smelt sweet with grasses, and the dew on the grasses. A low pulse of song broke on the bearded faces of the cacti and sobbed in fading cadences as the waves that come in from the salt sea seeking the south wind. This was the vesper strain of the katydids, sad, solacing, rhythmical.

Before the wary eyes of the sentinels a figure rose up, waving his blanket as a truce-flag. Encouraged, he came into the lines, not fully assured of his bearings—frightened a little, and prone to be communicative by way of propitiation.

Had the Americans heard of Encarnacion?

No, they had not heard of Encarnacion. What was Encarnacion?

The Mexican, born robber and devout Catholic, crossed himself. Not to have heard of Encarnacion was next in infamy to have slaughtered a priest. Horror made him garrulous. Fear, if it does not paralyze, has been known to make the dumb speak.

Encarnacion was a *hacienda*, and a *hacienda*, literally translated, is a plantation with royal stables, and acres of corral, and abounding water, and long rows of male and female slave cabins, and a Don of an owner, who has music,

and singing-maidens, and pillars of silver dollars, and a passionate, brief life, wherein wine and women rise upon it at last and cut it short. Even if no ill-luck intervenes, the pace to the devil is a terrible one, and superb riders though they are, the best seat in the saddle sways heavily at last, and the truest hand on the rein relaxes ere manhood reaches its noon and the shadows of the west.

Luis Enrico Rodriguez owned Encarnacion, a Spaniard born, and a patron saint of all the robbers who lived in the neighboring mountains, and of all the señoritas who plaited their hair by the banks of his *arroyos* and hid but charily their dusky bodies in the limpid waves. The hands of the French had been laid upon him lightly. For forage and foray Dupin had never penetrated the mountain line which shut in his guarded dominions from the world beyond. When strangers came he gave them greeting; when soldiers came, he gave them of his flocks and herds, his wines and treasures.

There was one pearl, however, a pearl of great price, whom no stranger eyes had ever seen, whom no stranger tongue had ever spoken a fair good morning. The slaves called it a spirit, the confessor a sorceress, the lazy gossips a Gringo witch, the man who knew best of all called it wife, and yet no sprinkling of water or blessing of church had made the name a holy one.

Rodriguez owned Encarnacion and Encarnacion owned a skeleton. This much James Wood and Yandell Blackwell knew when the half goat-herder and robber had told but half his story. When he had finished his other half this much remained of it:

Years before in Sonora a California hunter of gold had found his way to some streams where a beautiful Indian woman lived with her tribe. They were married, and a daughter was born to them, having her father's Saxon hair, and her mother's eyes of tropical dusk. From youth to womanhood this daughter had been educated in San Francisco. When she returned she was an American, having nothing of her Indian ancestry but its color. Even her mother's language was unknown to her. One day in Guaymas,

Rodriguez looked upon her as a vision. He was a Spaniard and a millionaire, and he believed all things possible. The wooing was long, but the web, like the web of Penelope, was never woven. He failed in his eloquence, in his money, in his passionate entreaties, in his stratagems, in his lying in wait—in everything that savored of pleading or purchase. Some men come often to their last dollar—never to the end of their audacity. If fate should choose to back a lover against the world, fate would give long odds on a Spaniard.

At last, when everything else had been tried, Rodriguez determined upon abduction. This was a common Mexican custom, dangerous only in its failure. No matter what the risk, no matter how monstrous the circumstances, no matter how many corpses lay in the pathway leading up from plotting to fulfillment, so only in the end the lusts of the man triumphed over the virtue of the woman. Gathering together hastily a band of bravos whose devotion was in exact proportion to the dollars paid, Rodriguez seized upon the maiden, returning late one night from the opera, and bore her away with all speed towards Encarnacion. The Californian, born of a tiger race that invariably dies hard, mounted such few men as loved him and followed on furiously in pursuit. Bereft of his young, he had but one thing to do—*kill*.

Fixed as fate and as relentless, the race went on. Turning once fairly at bay, pursued and pursuers met in a death grapple. The Californian died in the thick of the fight, leaving stern and stark traces behind of his terrible prowess. What cared Rodriguez, however, for a bravo more or less? The woman was safe, and on his own garments nowhere did the strife leave aught of crimson or dust. Once well in her chamber—a mistress, perhaps—a prisoner, certainly, she beat her wings in vain against the strong bars of her palace, for all that gold could give or passion suggest had been poured out at the feet of Inez Walker. Servants came and went at her bidding. The priest blessed and beamed upon her. The captor was fierce by turns and in the dust at her shrine by turns; but amid it all the face of a murdered father rose up in her memory, and prayers for vengeance upon her

father's murderer broke ever from her unrelenting lips. At times fearful cries came out from the woman's chamber. The domestics heard them and crossed themselves. Once in a terrible storm she fled from her thralldom and wandered frantically about until she sank down insensible. She was found alone with her beauty and her agony. Rodriguez lifted her in his arms and bore her back to her chamber. A fever followed, scorching her wan face until it was pitiful, and shredding away her Saxon hair until all its gloss was gone and until its silken rippling stranded. She lived on, however, and under the light of a Southern sky, and by the fitful embers of a soldier's bivouac, the robber goat-herd was telling the story of an American's daughter to an American son.

Was it far to Ecarnacion?

Jim Wood asked the question in his broken Spanish way, looking out to the front, musing.

"By tomorrow night, Senor, you will be there."

"Have you told the straight truth, Mexican?"

"As the Virgin is true, Senor."

"So be it. You will sleep this night at the outpost. Tomorrow we shall see."

The Mexican smoked a cigarette and went to bed. Whether he slept or not, he made no sign. Full confidence very rarely lays hold of an Indian's heart.

Replenishing the fire, Wood and Blackwell sat an hour together in silence. Beyond the sweeping, untiring glances of the eyes the men were as statues. Finally Blackwell spoke to Wood:

"Of what are you thinking?"

"Encarnacion. And you?"

"Inez Walker. It is the same."

The Mexican turned in his blanket, muttering. Wood's revolver covered him:

"Lie still," he said, "and muffle up your ears. You may not understand Enhlish, but you understand this," and he waved the pistol menacingly before his eyes. "One never does know when these yellow snakes are asleep."

"No matter," said Blackwell, sententiously: "they never sleep."

It was daylight again, and although the two men had not unfolded their blankets, they were as fresh as the dew on the grasses—fresh enough to have planned an enterprise as daring and as desperate as anything ever dreamed of in romance or set forth in fable.

The tomorrow night of the Mexican had come, and there lay Encarnacion in plain view under the starlight. Rodriguez had kept aloof from the encampment. Through the last hours of the afternoon wide-hatted rancheros had ridden up to the corral in unusual numbers, had dismounted and had entered it. Shelby, who took note of everything, took note also of this.

"They do not come out," he said. "There are some signs of preparation about and some fears manifested against a night attack. By whom? Save our grass and goats I know of no reason why foraging should be heavier now than formerly."

Twice Jim Wood had been on the point of telling him the whole story, and twice his heart had failed him. Shelby was getting sterner of late, and the reins were becoming to be drawn tighter and tighter. Perhaps it was necessary. Certainly since the last furious attack by the guerrillas over beyond Parras, those who had looked upon discipline as an ill-favored mistress had ended by embracing her.

As the picquets were being told off for duty, Wood came close to Blackwell and whispered:

"The men will be ready by twelve. They are volunteers and splendid fellows. How many of them will be shot?"

"*Quien sabe?* Those who take the sword shall perish by the sword."

"Bah! When you take a text take one without a woman in it."

"I shall not preach tonight. Shelby will do that tomorrow to all who come forth scathless."

With all his gold, and his leagues of cattle and land, Rodriguez had only for eagle's nest an adobe eyrie. Hither his dove had been carried. On the right of this long row of cabins ran the quarters of his peons. Near to the great gate were acres of corral. Within this saddled steeds were in stall, lazily feeding. A Mexican loves his horse, but that is no reason why he does not starve him. This night, however, Rodriguez was bountiful. For fight and flight both men and animals must not go hungry. On the top of the main building a kind of tower lifted itself up. It was roomy and spacious, and flanked by steps that clung to it tenaciously. In the tower a light shone, while all below and about it was hushed and impenetrable. High adobe walls encircled the mansion, the cabins, the corral, and acacia trees, the fountain that splashed plaintively, and the massive portal which had mystery written all over its rugged outlines.

It may have been twelve o'clock. The nearest picquet was beyond Encarnacion, and the camp guards were only for sentinel duty. Free to come and go, the man had no watchword for the night. None was needed.

Suddenly, and if one had looked up from his blankets, he might have seen a long, dark line standing out against the sky. This line did not move.

It may have been twelve o'clock. There was no moon, yet the stars gave light enough for the men to see each other's faces and to recognize one another. It was a quarter of a mile from the camp to the *hacienda*, and about the same distance to the picquet posts from where the soldiers had formed. In the ranks one might have seen such campaigners—stern, and rugged, and scant of speech in danger—as McDougall, Boswell, Armistead, Winship, Ras Woods, Macey, Vines, Kirtley, Blackwell, Tom Rudd, Crockett, Collins, Jack Williams, Owens, Timberlake, Darnall, Johnson, and the two Berrys, Richard and Isaac. Jim Wood stood forward by right as leader. All knew he would carry them far enough; some may have thought, perhaps, that he would carry them too far.

The line, hushed now and ominous, still stood as a wall. From front to rear Wood walked along its whole length, speaking some low and cheering words.

"Boys," he commenced, "none of us know what is waiting inside the corral. Mexicans fight well in the dark, it is said, and see better than wolves, but we must have that American woman safe out of their hands, or we must burn the buildings. If the hazard is too great for any of you, step out of the ranks. What we are about to do must needs be done quickly. Shelby sleeps little of late, and may be, even at this very moment, searching through the camp for some of us. Let him find even so much as one blanket empty, and from the heroes of a night attack we shall become its criminals."

Sweeny, a one-armed soldier who had served under Walker in Nicaragua, and who was in the front always in hours of enterprise or peril, replied to Wood:

"Since time is valuable, lead on."

The line put itself in motion. Two men sent forward to try the great gate, returned rapidly. Wood met them.

"Well?" he said.

"It is dark all about there, and the gate itself is as strong as a mountain."

"We shall batter it down."

A beam was brought—a huge piece of timber wrenched from the upright fastenings of a large irrigating basin. Twenty men manned this and advanced upon the gate. In an instant thereafter there were tremendous and resounding blows, shouts, cries, oaths and musket shots. Before this gigantic battering-ram adobe walls and iron fastenings gave way. The bars of the barrier were broken as reeds, the locks were crushed, the hinges were beaten in, and with a fierce yell and rush the Americans swarmed to the attack of the main building. The light in the tower guided them. A legion of devils seemed to have broken loose. The stabled steeds of the Mexicans reared and plunged in the infernal din of the fight, and dashed hither and thither, masterless and riderless.

The camp where Shelby rested was alarmed instantly. The shrill notes of the bugle were heard over all the tumult, and with them the encouraging voice of Wood:

"Make haste! make haste, men, for in twenty minutes we will be between two fires!"

Crouching in the stables, and pouring forth a murderous fire from their ambush in the darkness, some twenty *rancheros* made sudden and desperate battle. Leading a dozen men against them, Macy and Ike Berry charged through the gloom and upon the unknown, guided only by the lurid and fitful flashes of the muskets. When the work was over the corral no longer vomited its flame. Silence reigned there—that fearful and ominous silence fit only for the dead who died suddenly.

The camp, no longer in sleep, had become menacing. Short words of command came out of it, and the tread of men forming rapidly for battle. Some skirmishers, even in the very first moments of the combat, had been thrown forward quite to the *hacienda*. These were almost nude, and stood out under the starlight as white spectres, threatening yet undefined. They had guns at least, and pistols, and in so much they were mortal. These spectres had reason, too. Close upon the fragments of the great gate, and looking in upon the waves of the fight as they rose and fell, they yet did not fire. They believed, at least, that some of their kindred and comrades were there.

For a brief ten minutes more the combat raged evenly. Cheered by the voice of Rodriguez, and stimulated by his example, his retainers clung bitterly to the fight. The doors were as redoubts. The windows were as miniature case-ments. Once on the steps of the tower Rodriguez showed himself for a second. A dozen of the best shots in the attacking party fired at him. No answer save a curse of defiance so harsh and savage that it sounded unnatural even in the roar of the furious hurricane.

There was a lull. Every Mexican combatant outside the main building had been killed or wounded. Against the massive walls of the adobes the rifle bullets made no head-

way. It was murder longer to oppose flesh to masonry. Tom Rudd was killed, young and dauntless; Crockett, the hero of the Lampasas duel, was dead; Rogers was dead; the boy Provines was dead; Matterhorn, a stark giant of a German, shot four times, was breathing his last; and the wounded were on all sides, some hard hit, and some bleeding, yet fighting on.

"Once more to the beam," shouted Wood.

Again the great battering-ram crashed against the great door leading into the main hall, and again there was a rending away of iron, and wood, and mortar. Through splintered timber, and over crumbling and jagged masonry, the besiegers poured. The building was gained. Once well withinside, the storm of revolver balls was terrible. There personal prowess told, and there the killing was quick and desperate. At the head of his hunted following, Rodriquez fought like the Spaniard he was, stubbornly, and to the last. No lamps lit the savage *melee*. While the Mexicans stood up to be shot at, they were shot where they stood. The most of them died there. Some few broke away towards the last and escaped, for no pursuit was attempted, and no man cared how many fled nor how fast. It was the woman the Americans wanted. Gold and silver ornaments were everywhere, and precious tapestry work, and many rare and quaint and woven things, but the powder-blackened and blood-stained hands of the assailants touched not one of these. It was too dark to tell who killed Rodriquez. To the last his voice could be heard cheering on his men, and calling down God's vengeance on the Gringos. Those who fired at him specially fired at his voice, for the smoke was stifling, and the sulphurous fumes of the gunpowder almost unbearable.

When the *hacienda* was won Shelby had arrived with the rest of the command. He had mistaken the cause of the attack, and his mood was of that kind which but seldom came to him, but which, when it did come, had several times before made some of his most hardened and unruly followers tremble and turn pale. He had caused the *hacienda* to be

surrounded closely, and he had come alone to the doorway, a look of wrathful menace on his usually placid face.

"Who among you have done this thing?" he asked, in tones that were calm yet full and vibrating.

No answer. The men put up their weapons.

"Speak, some of you. Let me not find cowards instead of plunderers, lest I finish the work upon you all that the Mexicans did so poorly upon a few."

Jim Wood came forward to the front then. Covered with blood and powder stains, he seemed in sorry plight to make much headway in defense of the night's doings, yet he told the tale as straight as the goatherd had told it to him, and in such simple soldier fashion, taking all the sin upon his own head and hands, that even the stern features of his commander relaxed a little, and he fell to musing. It may have been that the desperate nature of the enterprise appealed more strongly to his own feelings than he was willing that his men should know, or it may have been that his set purpose softened a little when he saw so many of his bravest and best soldiers come out from the darkness and stand in silence about their leader Wood, some of them sorely wounded, and all of them covered with the signs of the desperate fight, but certain it is that when he spoke again his voice was more relenting and assuring:

"And where is the woman?"

Through all the terrible moments of the combat the light in the tower had burned as a beacon. Perhaps in those few seconds when Rodriquez stood alone upon the steps leading up to the dove's-nest, in the tempest of fire and smoke, the old love might have been busy at his heart, and the old yearning strong within him to make at last some peace with her for whom he had so deeply sinned, and for whose sake he was soon to so dreadfully suffer. Death makes many a sad atonement, and though late in coming at times to the evil and the good alike, it may be that when the records of the heart are writ beyond the wonderful river, much that was dark on earth will be bright in eternity, and much that was cruel and fierce in finite judgment will be made fair and

beautiful when it is known how *love* gathered up the threads of destiny, and how all the warp that was blood-stained, and all the woof that had bitterness and tears upon it, could be traced to a woman's hand.

Grief-stricken, prematurely old, yet beautiful even amid the loneliness of her situation, Inez Walker came into the presence of Shelby, a queen. Some strands of gray were in her glossy, golden hair. The liquid light of her large dark eyes had long ago been quenched in tears. The form that had once been so full and perfect, was now bent and fragile; but there was such a look of mournful tenderness in her eager, questioning face that the men drew back from her presence instinctively and left her alone with their General. He received her commands as if she were bestowing a favor upon him, listening as a brother might until all her wishes were made known. These he promised to carry out to the letter, and how well he did so, this narrative will further tell. For the rest of that night she was left along with her dead. Recovered somewhat from the terrors of the wild attack, her women came back to her, weeping over the slain and praying piteously for their souls as well.

When the dead had been buried, when the wounded had been cared for, and when Wood had received a warning which he will remember to his dying day, the column started once more on its march to the south. With the guard of honor regularly detailed to protect the families of those who were traveling with the expedition, there was another carriage new to the men. None sought to know its occupant. The night's work had left upon all a sorrow that was never entirely obliterated—a memory that even now, through the lapse of long years, comes back to all who witnessed it as a memory that brings with it more of real regret than gladness.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

When Missouri commemorated her one hundredth birthday, she did more than perform a duty. Opportunity came and found the latch-string on the outside. The year 1921 will be as significant in Missouri history as the year 1821. Formally Missouri's Centennial, it will be valued as the year of Missouri's State Pride. Read Dr. Walter B. Stevens' "How Missouri Commemorated." It reveals a type of citizen interested in the annals of his people, giving to others educational stimulus in history. A new State Pride is there. It will grow until the leaders of thought and enterprise in every community will be reached, and the children in the schools will go forth equipped to uphold the rank of their commonwealth. One should be proud to be a Missourian if he knows Missouri's contributions. To know the annals of your people is to profit by their experiences, and find pride in your ancestry. Missourians are a native-born people, ninety-five out of every hundred; Missourians are a conservative people, they earned the name "The Bullion State;" Missourians are a loyal people, they support their chosen leaders in peace and war; Missourians are a prosperous people, they have thrift and industry; and Missourians are a religious people, they have the serious qualities of courage, faith and conviction. What need Missourians? Accurate information on our complex economic conditions; more co-operation among classes and sections, and less criticism; continued progress in education; and development of well-poised state pride based on accurate historical study of our annals. The purpose of the *Review* is primarily to aid in obtaining the last, but to the discerning it will be surprising how frequently the other needs are considered.

There is much instruction, and interest, in "Pioneer Life in Southwest Missouri," by Mr. Wiley Britton. Every progressive person in north Missouri should read this series. The subject is new and the style is pleasing. The author is

careful and already has standard productions to his credit. The Ozarks are part of Missouri. Some do not know this. A decade hence Missourians will frequent Hahatonka, Lake Taneycomo, and "The Land of a Million Smiles," as they now go to Colorado Springs, Minnesota lakes, and the health resorts of New Mexico. When Missourians appreciate what they have here at home, there will be another illustration to add to "Acres of Diamonds."

Mr. Glenn Frank, whose biography is well told by Mr. George F. Thompson, is the chief of the editorial staff of *The Century*. Mr. Frank has graduated into the highest class of journalists. He is a good writer and a popular speaker. A Missourian, editor of *Century*! A Missourian, Augustus Thomas, one of America's leading playwrights! A Missourian, Rupert Hughes, one of America's leading short-story writers! A Missourian, Sara Teasdale, one of America's leading poets! And Fanny Hurst, J. Breckenridge Ellis, Mary Seifert, Homer Croy, Winston Churchill! These are some of the sons and daughters of the State who today are advancing with Missouri's banner of belles-lettres raised fifty years ago by her beloved Mark Twain and Eugene Field.

COMMENTS.

May I add, that the recent issue of the *Review*, received and read a few days ago, was, like all others have been, truly interesting and instructive. You are doing a work that ought to be appreciated by every Missourian. Instead of having a few members of your society in each county, as I note in your last issue, the number should be doubled many times in expressing the proper appreciation of your efforts. No other periodical, including the *North American Review*, has so much interesting and valuable matter as does the *Review*.—JOHN A. SNIDER, Judge, Cape Girardeau Court of Common Pleas, Jackson, Mo., August 22, 1921.

Herewith check for dues for the year 1922. Every Missourian, especially every native-born Missourian, should subscribe for the *Review*.—MRS. J. P. HIGGINS, President, Missouri Division U. D. C., St. Louis, Mo., August 19, 1921.

In payment of my annual dues, my check for one dollar is enclosed. The Society should be commended for its wonderful work.

Among the many publications which come to our home none are enjoyed more than the *Quarterly*. It steadily improves.—CHARLES L. HENSON, Judge Circuit Court, Mt. Vernon, Mo., August 20, 1921.

The April number of *The Missouri Historical Review* has just come to my desk. This is an extremely interesting and valuable publication. It is compiling the material for a new history of Missouri. I wish to congratulate you upon the admirable work the *Review* is doing and to thank you and your associates for the very great pleasure I derive from each number of it.—JOHN I. WILLIAMSON, Attorney at Law, Kansas City, Mo., July 2, 1921.

The last issue of the *Review* is a very fine book. In fact, it has become a great publication under an extraordinarily discriminating editor and all issues are great. I wish it came more often.—ROLLIN J. BRITTON, Attorney at Law, Kansas City, Mo., July 8, 1921.

The last three numbers of the *Missouri Historical Review* have certainly been fine—not but what the others have been good, but these seem to have been better.—O. H. HOSS, Attorney at Law, Nevada, Mo., August 19, 1921.

It is said that the best advertisement is a satisfied customer. Those who take the *Review* cannot fail to be satisfied with what is served to them in its pages. All articles are so well written, show so many evidences of research and are always so timely. As a historical magazine it is filling every expectation of mine, and judging from the comments concerning it which I have heard, it is pleasing others as well.—WM. CLARK BRECKENRIDGE, Bibliographer, St. Louis, Mo., August 23, 1921.

HISTORICAL EXHIBIT, HENRY COUNTY FAIR.

One of the most attractive features of the second annual Henry County fair at Clinton, Missouri, the 6th, 7th and 8th of October, was the historical exhibit. There were 197 entries, some entries including a dozen or more pieces. Old coverlets, old chairs, books, wedding dresses, historical photographs, spinning-wheels, old china, guns, farm machinery, lamps, and even pioneer dolls, were displayed for the edification and interest of the old and the young. One of the collections was a French ax picked up in the Osage river bottom,

which was probably left by one of the old French explorers. Another item was a boot-jack which came from one of the old French Chouteaus in St. Louis. The superintendent of the exhibit was Mrs. John Balke, whose enterprise and work resulted in its remarkable success. The spinning contest was a special feature. Six ladies entered the contest, showing that we are still not so far removed from pioneer life as to be unpracticed in the arts and industries of one hundred years ago. It is hoped that from this exhibit a Henry County Historical Society will be organized. Certainly, with the interest already aroused, it is certain that greater enthusiasm will be taken in local history as well as in making a historical display one of the permanent features of the Henry County Fair.

HISTORICAL EXHIBIT, LIVINGSTON COUNTY
FARM CONGRESS.

A newly-awakened interest in the preservation of local records and in the popularizing of local history is manifesting itself throughout Missouri. One of the most frequented exhibits at the State Centennial Celebration and State Fair at Sedalia last August was the historical section. Thousands of citizens of the State passed by and inspected this exhibit and returned home with awakened interest along this cultural and patriotic line of development. As a result, some counties are planning to make such an exhibit a prominent feature of the local county fairs, and others in addition are planning the formation of local historical societies with museums attached. One of these is Livingston County. Under the direction of Hon. Douglas Stewart of Chillicothe, a historical collection and museum was exhibited during October in connection with the Livingston County Farm Congress. It was a decided success and permanent good will come from it. The descendants of the pioneers have preserved many of the relics of their forefathers. When a public exhibition of these is offered, these objects come from their safekeeping and their hiding places and tell again the stories of the founding of our commonwealth. It is not improbable that this

6

new movement will grow until every county fair will have as one of its most attractive exhibits a public historical museum open to the public, giving free instruction on the local annals of the community.

BENTON PISTOL IN LUCAS DUEL.

This interesting letter of October 4, 1921, was received from Mrs. T. B. Hall of Marshall, Missouri:

"As the Benton-Lucas duel is much discussed just now, it may interest the Society to know that the pistol used by Benton in that duel is still in existence. It was owned by my grandfather, General Thomas A. Smith, who gave it to my father, Dr. Crawford Early Smith. The pistol is still in possession of our family. Many years ago, when my father was living in St. Louis County, he gave a history of the pistol to a reporter for the *Globe-Democrat*. This interview is preserved in an old scrap-book and I am copying from this the published account that was in the *Globe-Democrat*. The pistol, I think, is in the same condition now as it was when this description was given. I am sending the history of the pistol as my father told it to the reporter."

"Yes, I have it; here it is. This is the old dueling pistol that Benton killed Lucas with. It hadn't a blemish on it when I received it from father in an elegant case. There was a full kit of tools with it then but they have been lost, and the case has been worn out and broken to pieces long ago. Why, my boys have been shooting gravel, and nails, and pieces of iron out of it for years, but it will shoot just as quick and accurately as it ever did.

"Father often loaned it to his friends to settle their affairs of honor, and it has figured in several duels but I don't know how many. Oh no, Benton never owned it. In those days it was renowned as a most excellent weapon and Benton borrowed it of my father. I am not certain, but it has always been my impression it was presented to father by Colonel or General McIntosh of the United States Army. It came into father's possession when he was stationed at Point Peter, in Florida, in front of St. Augustine, while holding the Spaniards from advancing in the year 1802. Father was an excellent shot. I have seen him out a half-inch tape in two at fifteen paces often. Yes, it is a smooth-bore and shoots a half-ounce ball," continued the Doctor. "You

know it would have been considered barbarous to shoot a man with a rifled pistol in those days. They didn't want to tear an ugly hole in a man; they just wanted to put a smooth, clean hole through his body and this was the kind of a weapon they used."

The pistol, a most perfect flint-lock of the double-cock pattern with a fine hair-trigger, bore the gold trade-mark of "McDermot, Dublin." The barrel, 10½ inches long, of hexagonal shape, is provided with a patent breech, and the flash-pan and touch-holes are bushed and lined with gold. The forward sight is silver, and the rear one of the same material as the highly-finished breech. Attached to the trigger guard there is a finger-hold for the middle finger, the better to grasp the piece firmly. Its stock of black walnut has been finely carved, but rough usage has left but few traces of the artist's skill. A comparatively recent break in the stock exposes the interior of the lock to view, but the more ancient fractures in the wood have been repaired with silver bands, adding materially to the ornamentation of the piece. The original ramrod has been lost but it has been replaced by one of modern construction.

"A friend of father's," resumed the doctor, "an army officer, christened the pistol 'Sweet Lips.' I have forgotten the officer's name, but he was anticipating a duel in which he expected to figure as one of the principals, and wrote father to secure the loan of the weapon in advance of his prospective antagonist. Since then we have called the pistol 'Sweet Lips.'"

"My father's name was Thomas A. Smith. He was Brigadier General in the United States Army, having risen to that rank from an ensign, to which position he was appointed from civil life. This occurred in 1803. As late as 1818 he was in command of Fort Bellefontaine, located at the mouth of Coldwater Creek in St. Ferdinand township, in this county. Essex County, Virginia was his birthplace in the year 1781. John T. Smith the duelist, whom you have heard so much about, and my father were brothers. I don't remember just how many duels he was engaged in, but he is credited with having killed ten or fifteen men."

Mrs. Hall will donate this famous relic to The State Historical Society for preservation.

H. C. GEISBERG.

By Hon. N. T. Gentry.

Mr. Editor:—

On Sunday, October 9, 1921, Mr. H. C. Geisberg died at the home of his daughter, in Jefferson City, aged seventy-six years. He was a native of Osage county, Missouri, but had

spent the greater part of his life in Jefferson City, where he had served for many years as director and vice-president of the First National Bank, and director of the Building and Loan Association.

Mr. Geisberg was one of the interesting men of Missouri; scrupulously honest, fair toward everyone, accurate at all times and careful almost to a fault. For fifty-three years he was Clerk of the United States Court, first at St. Louis, and later at Jefferson City; and for thirty-three years he was commissioner of that court. During that time, he came in contact with many lawyers, jurors, litigants and witnesses; and all respected him, and those who knew him best admired him intensely. He was the best posted man I ever knew on federal practice and procedure; and many times have I inquired of him, and always found him able and ready to impart correct information. I once mentioned to Hon. W. S. Pope, one of Jefferson City's best lawyers, that I had just been to see Mr. Geisberg to find out what the law was; and Mr. Pope replied promptly, "Well, sir, I have been doing that for the past twenty-five years, and so have other lawyers from all parts of the state." In that conversation, Mr. Pope further said, "There is not a lawyer who practices at this bar, nor a judge who holds court here, who is so well versed in matters of federal practice as Mr. Geisberg."

It was my good fortune to sit in his office, and listen to him relate interesting incidents about early law-suits in Missouri, and the railroad, county and township bond litigation immediately following the Civil War; and also hear him tell of Judge John F. Dillon, Judge Samuel Treat, Judge Arnold Kreckel and Judge John F. Philips, and of the lawyers of the sixty's and seventy's. And I asked him to write down some of his recollections of the bench and bar of that day; and he promised to do so, but "just put it off."

The passing of this excellent gentleman is a distinct loss to Jefferson City and to Missouri as well; and it is to be hoped that more of our state and federal officials will follow his example, and strive at all times to render service, actual service, to the people whose servants they are.

JOHN S. MARMADUKE CHAPTER, U. D. C.

The John S. Marmaduke Chapter of the U. D. C., Columbia, Missouri, have recently compiled a noteworthy and valuable work. This has been done through the enterprise of its historical committee, Mrs. Bernard C. Hunt and Mrs. J. M. Batterton. The work consists of a book of biographical and historical data of the lives and services of the Confederates of Boone County, Missouri. A typewritten copy of this work has been carefully made and filed in a loose-leaf binder, and presented to the State Historical Society of Missouri for permanent preservation. Each of the Confederate veterans of Boone County, so far as data was able to be obtained, is covered from the standpoint of birth, service, battles fought, genealogical data and personal biographical facts, especially those connected with incidents relating to the war. If every patriotic chapter of this organization in Missouri, as well as of similar organizations, performed a work of this character they would leave a lasting monument.

MISSOURI BUILT FORT IN NEW MEXICO.

This letter from Dr. R. E. Twitchell, Secretary of the New Mexico Historical Society, is of interest to Missourians interested in the achievements of our people:

"Herewith a clipping which should interest you, as the Missouri soldiers built this old fort which we are going to restore and on which we hope to erect a beautiful monument in which also there might be some people in Missouri who will be interested.

"Ex-Governor L. Bradford Prince and Mrs. Prince were the honor guests of the New Mexico Historical Society at the celebration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the arrival of General Stephen W. Kearney at Santa Fe, which was held at the State Museum building on the evening of August 19, 1921.

"On this occasion they presented to the people of New Mexico the site of Old Ft. Marcy as a perpetual memorial to the Soldiers and Sailors of New Mexico."

The letter follows:

Santa Fe, August 19, 1921.

To the Historical Society of New Mexico:

For many years we have felt that the site of old Fort Marcy, on the point of land overlooking the City of Santa Fe, on account of its conspicuous and commanding position, and also for its historic interest, as the first American Military Post in the Southwest, should be dedicated to public use, and surmounted by a suitable structure that would be a commemorative monument to all American soldiers and sailors who from the time of Kearney have represented New Mexico in our armies and navies or served on New Mexico soil.

As owners of the property which includes this site, we have been ready to make a donation of this historic spot, whenever it could be utilized for this purpose with a certainty of such public use in perpetuity; and we have felt that the title should be vested in some corporation of dignity and stability, free from political influence, which could carry the project to successful completion. The Historical Society of New Mexico is the oldest scientific corporation in the entire Southwest, with objects altogether in harmony with such a commemorative monument, which would be an enduring historical record of the courage, gallantry and patriotism of the American soldier; and therefore it seems to be the most appropriate of such organizations.

We therefore offer to convey, with good title and unincumbered, the site of old Fort Marcy, to the Historical Society, as Trustee for the people of New Mexico, to be held and used as a perpetual memorial of all New Mexican soldiers in active service since 1846, and as a site for a building and monument in commemoration of their loyalty and valor; on condition that said Society finds itself able, within a reasonable time, with the assistance that may be patriotically afforded by public or private organizations, and individuals, to erect such commemorative building and monument thereon as will be creditable to New Mexico, worthy of the soldiers and sailors of our country, and expressive of the appreciation of a grateful people.

L. BRADFORD PRINCE.
MAY C. PRINCE.

NAMES STATE MEMORIAL BODY—MISSOURI COMMISSION WILL
ERECT A MONUMENT IN FRANCE.

Jefferson City, July 1.—Governor Hyde today named seven members of a commission provided for by the Legislature of two years ago to erect a suitable monument in France to commemorate the Americans who lost their lives in the

World War. There was no money available to carry out the provisions of the bill. The last Legislature appropriated \$25,000 for this purpose.

The men named were officers in the 35th, 42nd, 41st and 89th Divisions of the American Expeditionary Force. They are Norman B. Comfort of St. Louis, Ruby D. Garrett and Charles W. Bartlett of Kansas City, Alfred Linxweiler of Jefferson City, Paul Van Osdal of Brookfield, Melvin E. Binswanger of Brookfield and John F. Williams of Joplin.

The Governor has been informed that not exceeding three members of the commission will visit France to carry the law into effect, and the expense of the trip will not cost exceeding \$1,000 for each member. Those designated by the commission to go to France are Messrs. Comfort, Bartlett and Binswanger.—(*The Kansas City Times*, July 2, 1921.)

ORONOGO PIONEERS TELL HOW NAME WAS DECIDED ON.

Pioneer citizens of Oronogo have taken issue with the State Historical Society regarding the way in which the town was named and which was described in an article dealing with the origin of names of four Jasper county towns in Friday's *News-Herald*.

The explanation as given by the Oronogo citizens follows:

"Regarding the name of Oronogo, it did not originate in the manner your paper states (trade with the Indians) in 1870 or 1871. Railroad being built through to the west the town was then called Minersville and the postoffice Center Creek. The railroad company was building a depot at this time and as there was already a small town in the state by the name of Minersville, it became clear that something had to be done to change names so that town, postoffice and depot could all have the same name, so a meeting was called to be held at Board and Hendrickson's drug store, and a large number of us met there for the purpose of choosing a name. The first name suggested was Ore You Bet, to be written Orubet. Someone in crowd remarked that that was all right

for it was Ore or no go with this town. This seemed to strike the audience better and a vote was taken upon it and carried. The name to be spelled Oronogo, and that was about all there was to it. The name of the town became Oronogo; postoffice and depot Oronogo. Simple, was it not?"

J. MORRIS YOUNG,
C. E. ELLIOTT,
MILT. WITZELL,
R. PAULSEN,
R. C. SCOTT,
JIM CUMMINGS.

—(*Joplin News-Herald*, June 26, 1921.)

A MISSOURI PUBLISHER.

In Kansas City is a Missouri publishing house, established in 1908, which is beginning to attract the attention of western authors. Its work deserves mention. Its purpose to encourage Missouri and western literature is commendable. This is the Burton Publishing Company. Its president and manager is Mr. O. D. Burton. Mr. Burton is a native of Indiana, being a Missourian by adoption. His house has published thirty-five works by Missouri authors. One copy of each of these books has been placed in the Society for permanent preservation. In addition to his book publishing business, Mr. Burton issues a monthly magazine, *The Midwest Bookman*. The purpose of this magazine is complementary to the purpose of the publishing house—the advancement of Missouri and Western literature. Missouri writers are fortunate in having in their own state a publishing house that will take their work and present it to the public without their being forced to resort to the more distant concerns in the East.

DATA REQUESTED ON GEORGE HARDEN.

Mrs. Lura B. Tandy, 1115 University Ave., Columbia, Mo., makes the following request for genealogical data regarding George Harden:

A resident of Missouri, who is a descendant of George Harden (or Hardin), claims that he was a cousin or uncle of Charles H. Hardin, former governor of Missouri. I would certainly appreciate the favor very much, if some reader of the *Review* could give me any genealogical data concerning this George Harden. He had a daughter Mary (or Polly) Harden who married Washington Johnson.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS.

Compiled by J. Willard Ridings.

OLD RAILROAD BOND DEBT PAID.

From *Butler Democrat*, June 2, 1921.

Mt. Pleasant Township is at last free of the old railroad bond debt which has been held for many years. The last installment was paid by the county court at the April term. The balance was \$22,600.

On May 3, 1870, a proposition was submitted to the voters of Mt. Pleasant Township to issue \$90,000 in bonds to the capital stock of the Lexington, Chillicothe and Gulf Railroad Company. This proposition carried and in the following year this road and the Pleasant Hill division of the same road were merged under the name of the Lexington, Lake and Gulf Company. The bonds were accordingly issued, there being 90 of them, for the sum of \$1,000 each, payable in New York in 10, 20 and 30 years at the rate of 10 per cent interest.

Following the issuing of the bonds the road bed was constructed through the county and on completion the funds gave out and the company was unable to obtain more money to complete the work. The road was never completed and the debt was made.

After the failure of the company the county court refused to make any payment of the bonds or interest and suits were brought against the county and township, and judgments rendered in favor of the bondholders.

On August 25, 1885, an election was held at Mt. Pleasant Township to compromise the bonds, which then amounted to \$250,000, including interest, and the proposition carried to issue new bonds in the amount of \$175,000 at six per cent interest.

In 1918 an agreement was reached between the county court and the different banks representing the bondholders for an extension of time until June 1, 1922, the bonds bearing interest at the rate of five per cent, payable semi-annually, and nine of the remaining bonds being paid each year until 1922, when the remaining three should be paid. Nine of the bonds were paid at the February, 1918, term of the court. This year it was found that the bonds could be paid off, saving the taxpayers the interest on them for one year.

This debt, which has been hanging over old Mt. Pleasant Township since shortly after the Civil War, has been a source of great expense to the taxpayers in the district. The rate of tax up to 1920 was 50 cents on the \$100 and in 1920 was reduced to 15 cents.

AN INTERPRETATION OF MISSOURI'S GREAT SEAL.

From *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 19, 1921.

Tradition attributes the authorship of Missouri's rather elaborate coat of arms to Judge Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, whom historian Louis Houck pronounced, "one of the most learned and accomplished residents of Missouri." This is Judge Tucker's interpretation of the seal, with respect to which many of us have wondered and wondered for a good many years:

"The arms of the State of Missouri and of the United States, empaled together, yet separated by a pale, denote the connection existing between the two governments, and show that although connected by a compact, yet we are independent as to internal concerns; the words surrounding the shield denote the necessity of the union. Quadrupeds are the most honorable bearing. The great grizzly bear, being almost peculiar to the Missouri River and its tributaries, and remarkable for its prodigious size, strength and courage, is borne as the principal charge of our shield.

"The color blue signifies vigilance, perseverance and justice. The crescent in heraldry is borne on the shield by the second son, and on our shield denotes that we are the second state (Louisiana being the first) formed out of the territory not within the original territorial limits of the United States. The crescent also denotes the growing situation of the State as to its inhabitants, wealth and power. The color white signifies purity and innocence. The helmet indicates enterprise and hardihood. The one blazoned on this coat of arms is assigned to sovereigns only. The star ascending from a cloud to join the constellation shows Missouri surmounting her difficulties and taking her rank among the states of the Union. The supporters, the same powerful animals borne on the shield, on which are emblazoned the arms of the State and of the United States, denote that while we support ourselves by internal strength, we are also in support of the general government. The motto shows that the good of the people is the supreme law of the State. The numerals under the scroll show the date of the Constitution."

STATE UNIVERSITY HAD HUMBLE BEGINNING.

From *Columbia Evening Missourian*, April 21, 1921.

The Missouri University of today, with its two and one-half million appropriation, with its acres of modern buildings and more coming, with its rapid increase in enrollment, might well feel proud when it looks back more than 75 years at the humble beginning of what is now Missouri University.

By a United States land grant in 1820 two townships of land in Jackson County were set off to be used for the support of a seminary of learning. The State Legislature was made the trustee of this land. In 1832 the Legislature provided for the sale of this land at \$2 an acre. After all expenses were paid the sale yielded \$70,000, which was invested in stock of the Bank of the State of Missouri. When this sum had grown to \$100,000 agitation was begun for the selection of a site of a State University. At that time the community that gave the most money toward the institution was considered the one in which the institution should be located. Columbia and Boone County gave \$117,500, the largest sum raised.

One man who could neither read nor write gave \$3,000 toward the establishment of the University. Others gave and actually paid in more money later than they were worth at the time they subscribed.

On July 24, 1840, the cornerstone for the first edifice of the University of Missouri was laid. Columbia College, which had been established some years before, became the temporary instruction building of the University.

The year 1843 saw the first graduating class of two members receive their diplomas. For 25 years after the foundation of the University the State did not appropriate any funds for the support of the institution. On the contrary, the State succeeded in spending most of the University fund. The curators were even paid from the fund instead of being paid by the State.

When Dr. Read came to the presidency of the University near the close of the Civil War he found the institution in debt, disorganized, the buildings run down, and on the verge of collapse. The first week of the first term of Dr. Read's administration as president of the University found not a student enrolled. A county fair in the neighborhood had distracted the youths from thought of student life. The second week, however, saw forty students enrolled.

The first State appropriation came to the University through the General Assembly of 1867. One and three-fourths per cent of the General revenue of the State, minus 25 per cent for common

schools, was devoted to the support of the University. \$10,000 was also appropriated to repair and rebuild the president's house, which had burned down during the Civil War.

There were at this time ten faculty members. All male students were required to take military drill. They were required to wear a dark-blue frock coat with nine buttons on it, dark-blue trousers, with green welts on the seams, and a blue cap with a band of gold braid around the crown.

The professors of those days taught a little of everything. The president of this period, Dr. Read, was listed as professor of mental, moral and political philosophy, besides being listed to teach other classes on different subjects.

CLAIMS FIRST ELECTRIC LIGHTS IN STATE FOR KANSAS CITY.

From "Missouri Notes," *Kansas City Times*, April 7, 1921.

E. C. Hadley, editor of the *Fairplay Advocate*, takes issue with the statement of S. D. Gromer that the University of Missouri had the first electric lights west of the Mississippi, as stated in this column, with the following interesting bit of early Kansas City history:

S. D. Gromer is mistaken on one point at least. The first electric lights west of the Mississippi may have been produced at Columbia, but if so the time was earlier than 1882. Many old-time residents of Kansas City can testify to this. The editor of the *Advocate*, as a boy, was employed by the G. Y. Smith Dry Goods Co., of which the present George B. Peck Dry Goods Co. is the successor. The company was located on Main Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets, Kansas City, Missouri, beginning in November, 1881, and that firm had electric arc lights on the street in front of their store. They also furnished lights for the Hammerslough Clothing Co., at Fifth and Main Streets. The plant producing these lights was located at Seventh and Wall Streets, and about the most conspicuous thing about it was the big "danger" signs warning visitors to keep away from the machinery. The writer often ran errands for the engineer of the plant, and was familiar with everything about the place. We believe that was the first electric light plant in Kansas City, and possibly in the West. We do not know when it was installed, but it was there in November, 1881, and was used thereafter by the G. Y. Smith Company until they moved to the new Commercial block at Eleventh and Main Streets. The editor of the *Advocate* has very vivid memories of those days of "forty years ago," when he hunted rabbits and gathered walnuts over many miles of farmland and woodland pastures which are now solidly build city blocks.

PERSONALS.

Hon. James J. Gideon: Born near Springfield, Missouri, in 1846; died at Springfield, June 5, 1921. When 17 years of age he enlisted in the Confederate army and served throughout the Civil War. At the close of the war he settled in Christian county and studied law. Soon after he was admitted to the bar he was elected prosecuting attorney of Christian county and held the office four terms. He also served as a member from Christian county in the 32nd General Assembly, and as State Senator in the 33rd. In 1885 Mr. Gideon moved to Springfield and was shortly thereafter elected prosecuting attorney of Greene county. Later he was elected judge of the Greene county criminal court. When the commission form of government was adopted in Springfield he became the city's first mayor under the new form.

Judge John M. Kennish: Born on the Isle of Man, November 11, 1857; died at Kansas City, Missouri, September 14, 1921. He came to Missouri early in life and was graduated from the University of Missouri in 1884. The following year he began the practice of law at Mound City, with an appointment as city attorney. Later he served as prosecuting attorney for Holt county. He was State Senator from the first Missouri district and later became assistant Attorney-General. His next appointment was to the office of State Insurance Commissioner. Upon the death of Judge Fox of the Missouri Supreme Court in 1910, he was appointed by Governor Hadley to fill the vacancy and was then elected to the office in November, 1910. After his term as Supreme Judge expired he served a few months as superintendent of insurance, but resigned to open a law office in Kansas City.

Dr. Wm. Hoge Marquess: Born at Sparta, Tennessee, February 22, 1854; died at Yonkers, New York, April 10, 1921. He came to Fulton as a youth and was graduated from Westminster College in 1873. He then studied theology under Rev. James H. Brooks of St. Louis and was ordained a minister. He became pastor of the Presbyterian church at Keytesville and later at Fulton, serving also as president of

Westminster College from 1887 to 1903. At the time of his death he was professor of Hebrew literature at Dr. White's Bible Teachers' Training School in New York.

Hon. Wm. C. Marshall: Born at Vicksburg, Miss., in 1848; died at St. Louis, October 10, 1921. He was educated at the Universities of Mississippi and Virginia and admitted to the bar in 1870. From 1891 to 1898 he served as city counselor of St. Louis. In 1898 he was elected to the Supreme Bench of this state, where he served until 1906. Since that date he had practiced law in St. Louis.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS.

JANUARY-JUNE, 1920.

Adair County. Kirksville, *Journal*

- May 27. Interesting history of creeks of Adair county.

Andrew County. Savannah, *Democrat*

- Jan. 2. Sketch of the life of John Troxel Rhoades, pioneer citizen; with considerable description of pioneer life.
 Jan. 30. Sketch of the life of W. W. Ramsey, pioneer citizen and former county official.

Reporter

- Feb. 27. Sketch of the life of Henry Knight, Union veteran and former county official.

Atchison County. Rockport, *Atchison County Mail*

- Feb. 27. Sketch of the life of Azarias Copper, Union veteran.
 May 7. In 1865 and now. A price comparison.

Audrain County. Mexico, *Weekly Intelligencer*

- Mar. 4. Sketch of the life of H. W. Johnston, former State official.

- May 6. A brief history of Audrain county and Mexico; by Aileen Collier, Margaret Worner and Elizabeth Squirrer, eighth grade pupils.

Weekly Ledger

- Jan. 17. Old Wills and Testaments (of Audrain county).
 Feb. 26. Sketch of the life of A. C. Barnes, Union veteran.
 Mar. 11. Audrain's first execution, 40 years ago March 5th.

Barry County. Cassville, *Democrat*

- Apr. 10. Sketch of the life of C. W. Carney, former State representative.

Barton County. Lamar, *Democrat*

- Apr. 8. Sketch of the life of Dr. W. L. Griffin, Union veteran.
 Apr. 15. The story of old Missouri. A short sketch of John Scott, Missouri territorial delegate and representative in Congress.

Bates County. Butler, *Weekly Times*

- Jan. 22. Sketch of the life of John B. Newberry, Union veteran and former State official.

Republican-Press

- June 4. History of famous old church. A short sketch of Double Branch Church, organized in 1856.
 June 18. An old scrap-book. Interesting items of 100 years ago.

Boone County. Columbia, *Evening Missourian*

- Jan. 8. Columbia was once scene of lynching. Sketch of the tragedy of 1889.
 Jan. 9. County's first verdict gave John McCoy \$78. Story of the first case tried in Boone County Circuit Court in April, 1821.

- Jan. 10. Town's columns nearly as old as University's. Some facts concerning University's old columns and those of old courthouse.
- Jan. 14. Y. M. C. A. in Columbia three decades old; a short history of organization.
- Jan. 22. Old years live at Stephens dinner. Some random reminiscences of early days in Columbia.
- Mar. 8. Columbia had first dramatic club in 1858. Some facts concerning it.
- Apr. 30. First cabin in Boone county built in 1812; with other "first" dates of Boone county.
- June 21. Missouri is seeking fourth Constitution; with some facts concerning three Constitutions of the State.

Buchanan County. St. Joseph, *Gazette*

- Jan. 29. Pony Express service began 60 years ago. Some facts concerning it.
- Mar. 1. First Baptist Church to hold a diamond jubilee. Some historical notes on denomination organized in 1845.
- Mar. 7. First Pony Express rider started westward from St. Joseph sixty years ago. Stories of riders and their activities.
- Mar. 23. History of city is heard on jubilee. A few historical facts, as related at historical night observed by Baptist Church. See also St. Joseph *News-Press* for March 19th and 23rd.

, *News-Press*

- Jan. 22. Sketch of the life of W. H. Haynes, former State senator and judge of circuit court. See also *Gazette* for January 23rd.

, *Twilight Hour*

- Feb. Retrospect. Recollections of early days in St. Joseph.

, *Black and White*

- June. A leaf from the past. A history of the Pony Express and how it impressed Mark Twain.

Callaway County. Fulton, *Gazette*.

- Jan. 29. Old tax receipts. Description of early Missouri documents.
- Apr. 15. Old Asylum report. Review of report of Fulton State Hospital for 1869.
- May 6. The beginnings in the Kingdom of Callaway. Early history of the county.

, *Missouri Telegraph*

- Mar. 18. Passing of Concord recalls olden days. Recollections of what was once prosperous trading center of northern Callaway county.

New Bloomfield, *News*

- June 10. Old document. A letter written in 1863 by a Union soldier.

Cape Girardeau County. Cape Girardeau, *Southeast Missourian*

- Feb. 6. Sketch of the life of L. H. Davis, former Congressman, State legislator and member of Missouri constitutional convention of 1875.

- Carroll County. Carrollton, *Republican-Record*
 Feb. 12. Old war record. Some data on Co. H, 44th Regiment Infantry, Missouri Volunteers of Civil War.
 Apr. 1. *Republican-Record* is 52 years old; a short historical sketch.
- Carter County. Van Buren, *Current Local*
 Jan. 22. Sketch of the life of Walter J. Burrows, former county official.
- Cass County. Harrisonville, *Cass County Democrat*
 Apr. 1. J. Elmer House writes again. Interesting reminiscences of the past in Harrisonville.
 Apr. 8. Memoirs of Harrisonville and Cass county; by Mrs. Frank Wilson. Continued in issues of April 15, 22, 29, May 6, 13, 20, 27, June 3, 10, 17 and 24.
- Cedar County. Stockton, *Journal*
 Feb. 19. Sketch of the life of the Johnson Brothers, pioneers. With considerable description of pioneer life and conditions.
 June 10. Sketch of the life of Capt. R. N. Cox, Union veteran.
- Chariton County. Salisbury, *Press-Spectator*
 Jan. 9. Missouri's oldest newspaper. A short sketch of the *Paris Mercury*. Reprinted from the *Kansas City Star*.
 June 11. Silver jubilee celebration. With some historical facts regarding St. Joseph's Catholic Church at Salisbury.
- Clark County. Kahoka, *Clark County Courier*
 Jan. 30. Old St. Francisville. Random recollections.
 Apr. 9. Sketches of Clark County history. Random tales of early days in Clark county. Continued in issues of April 23, 30 and May 7.
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- , *Gazette-Herald*
- Jan. 2. The Honey War. A struggle of the Iowa border trouble in 1839. Reprinted from the *St. Louis Republic*.
 Mar. 12. Writes of early days. Short sketch of pioneer physicians of Clark county, by J. A. Jenkins.
 Apr. 2. Chapters of Clark county history, by Jasper Blines. Random sketches of early days in Clark county. Continued in issues of January 9, 23, 30, February 6, 13, 27, March 5, 12, 19 and 26, April 9, 16, 23, 30, May 7, 14, 21, 28, June 4 and 25. More about pioneer doctors. Sketches of the lives of early day doctors in Clark county. Continued in issues of April 23rd.
- Clay County. Liberty, *Advances*
 Feb. 16. "May Party" back in 1854. An account of a celebration at Liberty Female Institute on April 5, 1854.
 May 3. The Masons celebrate. A short history of the Liberty lodge on its 80th anniversary.
 May 24. The high cost of living after the Civil War. Reprinted from the *Kansas City Times*.
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- , *Tribune*
- Jan. 2. The old bootjack gone. Recollections of a pioneer convenience.
 Jan. 9. Back in the days of 1872. Items from a copy of the *Tribune* for July 5, 1872.

- Feb. 6. In the old days of 1867. Items from the *Tribune* of July 5, 1867.
- Feb. 10. When Wabash was built. Account from the *Tribune* of December 20, 1867.
Sketch of the life of D. O. Allen, former circuit attorney and member of the constitutional convention of 1875.
- Feb. 27. An echo of the old days. Some facts regarding old "Lake Superior," Railroad notes.
- June 18. Sketch of the life of Dan Carpenter, pioneer citizen.
- Cole County. Jefferson City, *Missouri State Journal*
- Mar. 6. Missouri "Blue Book" is out; with short historical sketch of the publication.
- Cooper County. Boonville, *Weekly Advertiser*
- Mar. 5. Remembers old Boonvillian citizens of the '50's.
- May 28. Sketch of the life of Capt. Thomas B. Gibson, veteran of the Mexican and Civil Wars (Confederate). See also the *Central Missouri Republican* for May 27th and the *Bunceton Weekly Eagle* for May 28th.
- June 25. The first battle at Boonville. Account of Civil War engagement near Boonville June 17, 1861, designated first battle of war.
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- _____, *Central Missouri Republican*
- May 13. Boonville society about 62 years old. Sketch of Turner Society of Boonville.
- May 20. Martinsville has 50th anniversary. Short sketch of Methodist Church established in 1870.
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- _____, *Bunceton, Weekly Eagle*
- Apr. 9. Sketch of the life of W. H. H. Stephens, Union veteran.
- Crawford County. Steelville, *Crawford Mirror*
- Mar. 11. Sketch of the life of Levi Hopkins, editor of the *Mirror*.
- Dent County. Salem, *Post*
- Apr. 8. Sketch of the life of Wm. A. Young, Union veteran and former county official. See also *Salem News* for April 1st.
- Franklin County. Union, *Republican Tribune*
- Jan. 16. Abstract of assessment of Franklin county in 1875.
- May 7. History of the "Red Bridge." Historical sketch of the bridge over Bourbeuse river.
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- _____, *Washington, Franklin County Observer*
- Mar. 26. Sketch of the life of William S. Allen, Confederate veteran and former county official.
- May 14. History of the Catholic Church in our city.
- Greene County. Springfield, *Leader*
- Jan. 24. History of "Springfield Plain" included in late work by Dr. Carl O. Sauer. Interesting account of early days in southwest Missouri, taken from "Geography of the Ozark Highland of Missouri."

- Jan. 25. Ex-Lieutenant Governor Johnson recalls famous Missouri murder trial. Reminiscences of early days in Missouri courts. Pony Express started just 60 years ago. Account of memorable event.
- Feb. 1. Wild Bill's reputation as a bad man overrated. Recollections of early days and people in Springfield, by E. C. McAfee.
- Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of T. J. Delaney, noted lawyer and former county official.
- Feb. 3. The Old South. Charles H. Gaffe's reminiscences of the Civil War. Reprinted from *San Antonio Express*.
- Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of A. H. Rogers, prominent south Missouri business man.
- Mar. 16. Recalls first meeting with Martin Hubble 38 years ago. A chapter in the life of Missouri railroads and the Greenback Party of 1878.
- May 30. Dallas county to bring old dispute over rail bonds to close July 1st. Story of the Ft. Scott and Laclede Railroad, a project of half a century ago.
-
- _____, *Republican*
- Jan. 28. Closing of College Street Saloon marks passing of historic county landmark. Tales of early days in Springfield.
- Feb. 15. Union Army officer writes of life led by "Wild Bill" while in southwest Missouri. A story of early-day Missouri, reprinted from *Harper's Magazine* of February, 1867. Continued in issues of February 22nd and 29th.
-
- _____, *Republic, Monitor*
- May 13. History. A short historical sketch of Republic.
- Grundy County. Trenton, *Times*
- Mar. 26. Sketch of the life of John E. Carter, Union veteran and former county official and State legislator.
- Harrison County. Bethany, *Clipper*
- Feb. 11. Sketch of the life of Ada L. Wightman, editor of the *Clipper*.
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- _____, *Republican*
- Feb. 25. Reminiscences of pioneer life in Harrison county, by G. W. Childress. Continued in issues of March 10th, 17th and 24th.
- Henry County. Clinton, *Henry County Democrat*
- Feb. 19. Sketch of the life of George R. Lingle, founder of the *Sedalia Advertiser* and former editor of the *Henry County Democrat*.
- Howard County. Armstrong, *Herald*
- May 20. Sweetman school district in the Civil War.
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- _____, *Fayette, Advertiser*
- June 17. Champ Clark's career from farmhand to Speaker; a short sketch.
-
- _____, *Glasgow, Missourian*
- Jan. 29. Missouri's oldest newspaper. Sketch of the *Paris Mercury*; reprinted from the *Kansas City Star*.

Howell County. West Plains, *Journal*

- Feb. 28. Historical facts show that Col. Torrey originated "Rough Riders."

Howell County *Gazette*

- May 6. Sketch of the life of Capt. John Brinegar, Union veteran.
 June 24. Richest copper mine opened up; with historical sketch of mine in Shannon county, Slater Mine, or "La Belle France."

Jackson County. Kansas City, *Post*

- Jan. 8. Liberty man came to Kansas City when site was only a big grazing pasture. Recollections of early days in Kansas City by O. O. Peters.
 Feb. 15. Father Dalton watched Kansas City grow. Notes on early days in the city.
 Mar. 21. Life of Champ Clark shows destiny is what we make it. The story of the rise of Missouri's famous representative in Congress.

Star

- Feb. 11. Fate of Mexico once within Missourian's grasp. An incident of Shelby's expedition to Mexico, reprinted from the history of the expedition by Major John N. Edwards.
 Feb. 12. Fought fires with Lincoln in Springfield 65 years ago. Recollections of R. O. McQuesten of Ottawa, Kansas, only survivor of a glee club that accompanied Lincoln in his famous debates with Douglas.
 Mar. 7. A bet and a bullet. An episode in the life of Lucien B. Maxwell, a hero of the old southwest.
 Mar. 12. When stage coaches rumbled through the blue grass. Anecdotes of drivers and famous travelers on the "National Road." Reprinted from the *Louisville Courier-Journal*.
 Mar. 28. Old Independence jail figured in romance, war and tragedy. Stories of Jackson county jail.
 Apr. 2. Champ Clark's book, by and of himself. A review of "My Quarter Century of American Politics," by Champ Clark.
 Apr. 5. The buried treasure of a pioneer priest. A story of the days of Price's raid. By Rev. Wm. J. Dalton.
 May 16. Missouri's caves both amaze and puzzle scientists; with some description.

Times

- Feb. 12. History in an old ledger. Account book pages tell of early days in Westport.
 Feb. 13. "Osage War," a bloodless page of border history. Story of conflict of 1837.
 Feb. 21. Daybooks tell a story. Glimpses of old Westport of 1821, from two old daybooks held by Missouri Valley Historical Society.
 Apr. 1. To celebrate discovery of Mark Twain's cave; with some history.

Jasper County. Carthage, *Press*

- Jan. 8. Electric line history. Some facts about Carthage-Carterville road, established in 1895.
 Jan. 29. Some early-day laws. A few laws passed by 12th General Assembly of Missouri in 1843.

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- Joplin, *News-Herald*
 Feb. 8. "High financing" build Jasper county's first railroad in 1873.
 Mar. 7. Early days in Joplin saw many good mines opened. Short sketch of mines and miners in Joplin district.
 May 16. Special Ozark Playgrounds number; with considerable description of Ozark region of southern Missouri and northern Arkansas.
-
- _____, *Globe*
 Mar. 7. Sketch of the life of A. H. Rogers, president of the Globe Publishing Company.
 Mar. 28. First postoffice still standing. Some Joplin postoffice history.
- Johnson County. Holden, *Progress*
 Mar. 18. In the dark days of the '60's. Sidelights on the Civil War in Missouri.
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- _____, *Warrensburg, Standard-Herald*
 Mar. 19. History of Johnson county. By Eunice Knight.
- Lafayette County. Higginsville, *Advance*
 Jan. 30. Sketch of the life of James E. Gladish, Union veteran.
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- _____, *Lexington, News*
 Apr. 29. Missouri as a state. A short historical sketch, by Lucile Gibson Little.
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- _____, *Odesa, Democrat*
 Mar. 19. Sketch of the life of Alexander Patterson, Confederate veteran.
 Sketch of the life of A. E. Adair, pioneer citizen.
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- _____, *Missouri Ledger*
 Jan. 16. College property sold; with historical sketch of school built in 1882. Continued in issues of January 23rd and February 6th.
- Lewis County. LaGrange, *Indicator*
 Jan. 8. When the city of LaGrange advertised its advantages. Resume of a municipal booklet of 1872.
 June 24. Lewis County—Bits of its early history.
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- _____, *LaBelle, Star*
 Feb. 27. Sketch of the life of Harry Martin Brosius, founder of Deer Ridge.
- Lincoln County. Elsberry, *Democrat*
 May 28. The prohibition movement. A short history of the movement in Missouri.
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- _____, *Troy, Free Press*
 Apr. 9. Odd religious experience. The Jerks in Missouri and their revivals of religion 100 years ago. Reprinted from the Bowling Green Times.

Linn County. Linneus, *Bulletin*.

Jan. 15. Sketch of the life of Thomas Benton Bowyer, the first white man born in Linn county. See also the *Linn County News* for January 9th.

Feb. 12. Sketch of the life of A. W. Mullins, Union veteran and former county and State official. See also the *Linn County News* for February 10th.

Marceline, *Herald*

Jan. 23. Sketch of the life of Morton G. Kendrick, Union veteran and pioneer citizen.

Livingston County. Ohillicothe, *Weekly Constitution*

Jan. 8. Memories of old Spring Hill, Missouri; by Douglas Stewart.

Feb. 5. Ohillicothe of 50 years ago; by George B. Munson.

Miller County. Eldon, *Advertiser*

Jan. 15. Good old days in Miller county. Recollections of Mrs. Wm. McClure.

Mississippi County. Charleston, *Enterprise-Courier*

Jan. 1. Sketch of the life of William Hunter, former State Senator.

Moniteau County. Tipton, *Times*

Apr. 9. The early history of Tipton; by Miss Mina Schricker.

Monroe County. Paris, *Mercury*

Jan. 2. The old story retold. A tragedy of northeast Missouri of 1828. Reprinted from the *Kansas City Star*.

Monroe County Appeal

June 18. A short history of Monroe county, by Miss Mattie Bess Sherman. Continued in issue of June 25th.

Montgomery County. Jonesburg, *Journal*

Mar. 4. Sketch of the life of H. W. Johnson, former circuit judge and State legislator. See also the *Louisiana Journal* for March 4th and the *Montgomery City Standard* for March 5th.

Montgomery City, *Standard*

May 7. Forty years ago. Reminiscences of Montgomery City and the *Standard*.

Morgan County. Versailles, *Statesman*

Mar. 4. John Hannay's letter. Gives considerable newspaper history of Morgan county. Random notes of 60, 70 and 80 years ago.

Leader

May 21. Noted Missourians. A sketch of Thomas H. Benton, by David W. Eaton.

New Madrid County. New Madrid, *Record*

Apr. 15. Sketch of the life of Henry C. Riley, former county official and circuit judge.

Newton County. Neosho, *Times*

- Mar. 11. The days when things were cheap. Prices of the '40's.

Oregon County. Alton, *South Missourian-Democrat*

- Jan. 15. Sketch of the life of Thomas J. Braswell, former county official and State legislator.

Pike County. Bowling Green, *Times*.

- Feb. 19. History column: Ralls and Pike. Some notes concerning formation of those two counties.
 Feb. 26. How Bowling Green got its name.
 Mar. 25. Missouri revivals of religion one hundred years ago.
 Apr. 29. Random sketches of early days in Pike county and Missouri. Continued in issues of May 6, 13, 20, 27 and June 24.
 June 3. Sketch of the life of T. B. Morris, former publisher of Bowling Green *Times* and Hannibal *Courier-Post*.

Louisiana, *Weekly Journal*

- Jan. 1. Masonic history. An incident of 1849 in Louisiana.

Polk County. Bolivar, *Herald*

- Jan. 15. Sketch of the life of Capt. J. J. Akard, Union veteran.

Fair Play, *Advocate*

- Feb. 5. Fifty years in business. Sketch of the business career of C. W. Paynter.

Putnam County. Unionville, *Republican*

- Mar. 10. Sketch of the life of L. P. Davis, Union veteran.
 Apr. 28. A war letter of '63. Written during the campaign with General Grant around Vicksburg in 1863.

Ray County. Lawson, *Review*

- Feb. 12. Early history of Lawson, by Roy Berten.
 Mar. 4. History of Union.

Richmond, *Missourian*

- Mar. 11. Ray county had Confederate Congressman. Sketch of Aaron H. Conrow, who represented Fourth Missouri District in Confederate Congress.
 June 3. Reminiscences of Lisbonville (Baptist) Church, by Rev. O. F. D. Arnold. Continued in issue of June 10th.

Conservator

- Apr. 1. History of Union church. Reprinted from the Lawson *Review*.

St. Charles County. St. Charles, *Banner-News*

- Feb. 19. Sketch of the life of Joseph H. Perea, pioneer citizen, founder of St. Charles *News*.

St. Francois County. Farmington, *News*

- Mar. 19. Sketch of the life of Thomas Harvey Haile, pioneer citizen, on the occasion of his 100th birthday.

Times

- Mar. 12. Brief history of Farmington.
 Apr. 9. An interesting bit of Southeast Missouri history. Some facts about early settlers.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS. 185

St. Louis City. *Globe-Democrat*

- Apr. 19. Sketch of the life of E. O. Simmons, pioneer hardware manufacturer.
- May 16. The St. Louis University family album. Some historical facts concerning school.

Post-Dispatch

- Jan. 4. My 112 years of life. Interesting reminiscences by a former Missouri slave.
- Jan. 16. Sketch of the life of James Gurney, superintendent of Tower Grove Park, St. Louis.
- Feb. 22. Story of the era of "The Great St. Louis Illusion," vividly told by Dr. Snider in new book. The story of St. Louis' dream of becoming the chief city of the United States.
- Feb. 29. Sketch of the career of James E. Taussig, president of the Wabash Railroad.
- Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of Benjamin F. Clark, former judge of the court of criminal correction in St. Louis.
- Mar. 7. First Missouri Compromise which marked the high tide of slavery adopted 100 years ago yesterday. By E. M. Violette. History of the Missouri enabling act.
- Apr. 11. Missouri's century of statehood celebrated in masque and pageant. Account of pageant presented at Columbia March 25, 1920.
By wagon train from St. Louis to El Paso in 1865. From a diary of F. R. Diffenderfer. Continued in issues of April 18, 25, May 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, June 6 and 13.
- Apr. 18. Science revealing records of strange, prehistoric race which dwelt ages ago in Missouri caves.
- May 16. Looking back 102 years, when St. Louis was just a modest dwelling at Third and Market.
- May 21. Sketch of the life of Chas. P. Johnson, former Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri. See also *St. Louis Star* for May 21st.
- May 23. Eads, the builder, whom St. Louis has almost forgotten. Sketch of famous engineer, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of his birth.
- May 29. Sketch of the life of John Scullin, pioneer railroad builder.
- May 30. Filley sketches early history of bank's new site. Some history of the southwest corner of Seventh and Locust streets in St. Louis.
- June 13. It was different when Lincoln got his nomination. Story of convention news of 1860.
- June 24. Sketch of the life of August H. Bolte, Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri from 1896 to 1900.

Star

- May 24. Lawyer, on 82nd birthday, recalls gold rush days. Reminiscences of H. A. Haussler.

St. Louis County. *Carondelet, News*

- Apr. 2. Comment and chronicles of the Carondelet of years ago. See preceding and succeeding issues.

Scotland County. *Memphis, Democrat*

- Jan. 1. Sketch of the life of Lee P. Roberts, editor of the *Democrat*.
- June 3. Reminiscences of Memphis; by A. P. Patterson.

- Scott County. Sikeston, *Standard*
Mar. 2. Biographical sketch of Thomas Hart Benton.
- Shelby County. Shelbyna, *Democrat*
Jan. 21. Mercedes. A description of pioneer life told in story form by L. Jewett. Continued in issue of January 28th.
- Stone County. Crane, *Chronicle*
Jan. 15. Sketch of the life of O. B. Swift, State legislator.
- Taney County. Forsyth, *Taney County Republican*
Mar. 11. Sketch of the life of James R. Vanzandt, former State representative and veteran of the Mexican and Civil Wars (Union).
- Texas County. Houston, *Herald*
Apr. 29. Looking backward. Recollections of early school days in Texas county, by Prof. J. W. Atkisson. Continued in issues of May 13, 20 and June 3, 10 and 24.
- Vernon County. Nevada, *Southwest Mail*
June 25. History of Vernon county's first schools, by Mrs. E. W. Jones.
- Warren County. Warrenton, *Banner*
Jan. 9. Visiting the old home. Random reminiscences of yesterday, from "Memories of the Past," by William Dyer. Continued under various headings in issues of January 16, 23, 30, February 6, 20, 27, March 5, 12 and 19.
- Worth County. Grant City, *Star*
Apr. 21. Sketch of the life of John Costin, pioneer citizen and former county official. See also *Worth County Times* for April 22nd.

